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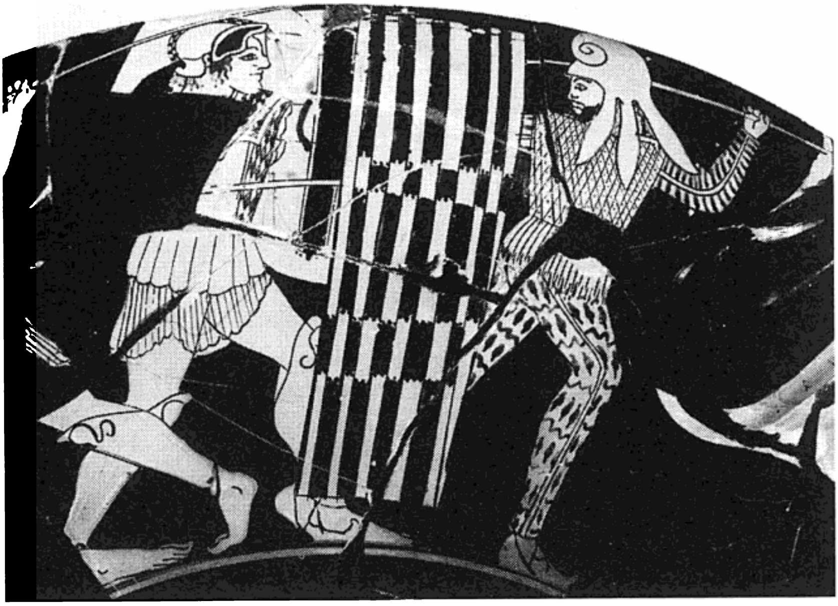
HERODOTUS

HISTORIES

BOOK IX

EDITED BY
MICHAEL A. FLOWER AND
JOHN MARINCOLA

CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS



Scene depicting a Greek attacking a Persian who defends himself
with a raised spear and a rectangular shield
Athenian red-figure cup, 5th century BC
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

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MICHAEL A. FLOWER

Franklin & Marshall College

AND

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New York University

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FOR CHRISTOPHER PELLING

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PREFACE

'Look to the end', says Herodotus' Solon, but this important maxim has been largely ignored in the case of Herodotus' own *Histories*, at least in the English-speaking world. The last commentary devoted exclusively to Book 9 is now over a hundred years old, and those of Macan and of How and Wells, which include Book 9, now also approach the century mark. Yet Book 9 is the climax as well as the completion of the work, and the major themes of Herodotus' *Histories* are all here echoed, modified, and revisited. If one is to explore the meaning (or range of possible meanings) of the *Histories*, one simply must look to the end.

Our aim in this commentary has been to bring together grammatical and syntactical help, literary appreciation, and historical criticism. We have tried to look at Book 9 as a work of both literature and history, believing that in an author as complex as Herodotus the two cannot profitably be separated. We have envisioned our audience as advanced undergraduates, graduate students, and scholars, although we are certain that not all constituencies will feel fairly treated. In the individual notes we have generally worked outwards from grammatical explanation to larger issues and questions. Although we have found that we have been like-minded in our interpretation of the text and that our respective areas of knowledge have been complementary, there are a few places where we disagree, and in such cases we have indicated our differences by our initials.

We have incurred many debts in the writing of this work, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge them here. Christopher Pelling and Paul Cartledge read and commented on the entire manuscript, offering numerous suggestions and interpretations, and calling our attention to many bibliographical items we might otherwise have missed. We thank Alain Bresson, Pierre Briant, Andrew Coco, John English, Klaus Hallof, Stephen Hodkinson, Olga Palagia, Peter Parsons, W. K. Pritchett, David Romano, Albert Schachter, and Scott Scullion for answering many individual queries and being generous with their time. We are especially grateful to Professor Palagia who scouted out the site of Plataea in advance of our visit there in March 2000 and then drove with us on our first day there; without her guidance we would probably never have found the Asopus, for that once proud stream has been reduced by irrigation to a mere ditch.

MAF would like to thank his colleagues Misty Bastian and Ann Steiner, who were always generous with their time and saved him from a number of errors; Gloria Ferrari Pinney, who kindly allowed him to read a draft version of her article on the temple of Athena Polias; George Cawkwell, with whom he spent many pleasant hours discussing various problems; and his secretary Judith Chien, whose skill as an editor improved the quality of his prose. In the spring of 1999 he tested ideas on his students Jamie Donati, Danielle Kellogg, and Nancy Liguori; and in the fall of 2000 Jonathan Cooperman, Aaron Gordon (who also commented on the introduction), Stephen Jamieson, Michael Kicey, and Christopher Stanisky were subjected to a manuscript version of the commentary and made innumerable suggestions for improvement. He also thanks Franklin and Marshall College for a travel grant to visit the site of Plataea in March 2000, and he benefitted from an NEH Fellowship for College Teachers and Independent Scholars which provided significant financial support for the 1999/2000 academic year. His greatest debt is to Harriet Flower, who willingly sacrificed some of her own research time so that he could bring this book to completion.

JM wishes to thank the Center for Hellenic Studies, where he was a Junior Fellow in 1999–2000. Its then co-directors Deborah Boedeker and Kurt Raaflaub provided everything one could want in such an institution, and he is grateful for their support, both then and in many years previously as friends. He remembers with delight his Junior Fellow colleagues at the Center, especially John Gibert, Dean Hammer, Peter Hunt, J. E. Lendon, and Christian Mileta, who endured innumerable questions, provided many answers, and seasoned everything with ready wit. He is also grateful to Seth Benardete who shortly before his death read the entire commentary, suggested many corrections and improvements, and corrected a host of misunderstandings and outright errors. He thanks his students Larissa Baranetsky, Cameo Castle, Blair Fowlkes and Jonathan Silverstein for their comments on an early version of the Commentary. And last but far from least, he thanks Laurel Fulkerson for reading and substantially improving the introduction, for assistance with the proofs, and for her continued support in so many other ways.

At the Press, our editors Patricia Easterling and Richard Hunter read all with eagle eyes, provided guidance at each step, made helpful suggestions, and directed us tactfully. Our former editor Pauline Hire brought her usual care and assistance to the project, and our present editor, Michael Sharp, stepped nimbly and gracefully into that same position, attending

to everything with great skill and kindness. Muriel Hall proved to be everything one could ask for in a copy-editor, and her keen eye has saved us from many errors and infelicities. It goes without saying that we alone are responsible for errors and omissions.

It would be difficult for us individually and collectively to express our thanks to Christopher Pelling. As both teacher and friend, in this project and in many others, he has shown extraordinary warmth and generosity, and we, like many others, have benefitted from the profusion of stimulating ideas that he has given us in print and in person. More than that, we are better people for knowing him and counting him our friend. Our dedication of this book to him is our small, but deeply heartfelt, thanks for all that we owe him.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The frontispiece is taken from an Athenian red-figure cup of the 5th century BC found at Cerveteri, Italy and now kept in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1911.615). The authors are grateful to the Museum for granting permission to reproduce this scene.

Map 1 (Plataea) is reproduced with permission from J. F. Lazenby, *The Defence of Greece* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1993), p. 224. Maps 2 (Samos and Mycale) and 3 (Battle of Mycale) are reproduced with permission from Peter Green, *The Greco-Persian Wars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, copyright ' 1996 Peter Green), p. 279.

Greek text of Simonides that appears on pp. 315–19 is reproduced from *The New Simonides*, edited by Deborah Boedeker and David Sider, ' 2001 by Oxford University Press, Inc. Used by permission of Oxford University Press, Inc.

ABBREVIATIONS

I. Ancient authors and works

Abbreviations of ancient authors and works are those of the *OCD*. Note the following, however: H. = Herodotus; Paus. = Pausanias the writer, abbreviated as such to distinguish him from Pausanias the general, whose name is never abbreviated.

II. Texts and editions of Book 9

Hude	C. Hude, *Herodoti Historiae*, (3rd ed., Oxford 1927)
Legrand	Ph.-E. Legrand, *Hérodote: Histoires* Livre IX. Calliope (Paris 1954)
Macan	R. W. Macan, *Herodotus: The Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Books* (2 vols. in 3, London 1908; repr. in 2 vols., New York 1979)
Masarrachia	A. Masarrachia, *Le Storie*. Libro IX. *La Sconfitta dei Persiani* (Milan 1979)
Rosén	H. Rosén, *Herodoti Historiae* II. (Leipzig 1997)
Shuckburgh	E. S. Shuckburgh, *Herodotus* IX (Cambridge 1893)
Stein	H. Stein, *Herodotus* (6th ed., Berlin 1901)

III. Modern works

AGPS	G. L. Cooper III, *Attic Greek Prose Syntax*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor 1998).
ATL	B. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* III (Princeton 1950).
Brosius	M. Brosius, *The Persian Empire from Cyrus to Artaxerxes I* (Lactor 16, London 2000). Cited by *document* number.
Burn	A. R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* (London [2]1984).

CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History.*
CEG	P. A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca, Saeculorum VIII-V a.Chr.n.* (Berlin and New York 1983).
Chantraine	P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 4 vols. (Paris 1968–80).
DK	E. Diehls and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 3 vols. (Berlin ⁶1951–2).
EGF	M. Davies, ed., *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen 1988).
EGM	R. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography* 1. *The Texts* (Oxford 2000).
FGE	D. L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge 1981).
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, et al., *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin and Leiden 1923–58; Leiden 1994–).
Fornara	C. W. Fornara, *Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War* (Cambridge 1983). Cited by *document* number.
GP	J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (Oxford ²1954).
Green	P. Green, *The Greco-Persian Wars* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1996).
HCT	A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes and K. J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford 1945–81).
Hignett	C. Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece* (Oxford 1963).
Hornblower, *CT*	S. Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford 1991–).
HW	W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1913; repr. with corrections, 1923).
IEG	M. L. West, ed., *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* (Oxford ²1992).
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*

K-G	R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, Zweiter Teil, Satzlehre*, 2 vols. (Hannover 1898–1904).
Lazenby	J. F. Lazenby, *The Defence of Greece* (Warminster 1993).
LfgrE	B. Snell and H. Erbse, edd., *Lexicon des frühgriechischen Epos* (Göttingen 1955–).
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Graecae* (Zurich, 1966–97).
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. Stuart Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 9 1996).
ML	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century* BC. (Oxford 1969; corr. repr. 1975).
MT	W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb* (Boston 1890).
*OCD*3	S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford 3 1996).
PEG	A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci* I (Leipzig 1987).
PMG	D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962).
Powell	J. E. Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus* (Cambridge 1935).
Pritchett, *GSAW*	W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, 5 vols. (Berkeley, 1974–91).
RE	A. von Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1893–1980).
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SGO	R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, edd., *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1998–).
SH	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. J. Parsons, edd., *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin, 1983).
Smyth	H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, rev. by G. M. Messing (Cambridge, Mass. 1956).

TB D. Müller, ed., *Topographischer Bildkommentar zu den Historien Herodots* (Tübingen 1987–).

TGF A. Nauck, ed., *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig ²1889).

TrGF B. Snell, R. Kannicht, S. Radt, edd., *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Berlin, 1971–).

INTRODUCTION

1. LIFE AND TIMES

For Herodotus' life we are dependent on biographical data culled from various ancient sources, and the remarks he makes in his own work about his travels and explorations.[1] Of the former, the fullest treatment is to be found in the tenth-century Byzantine lexicon, the *Suda*,[2] but other details can be added from a variety of late sources. The following picture emerges. H. was born in Halicarnassus,[3] the son of Lyxes and Dryo, and the nephew (or perhaps cousin) of the epic poet Panyassis. He was expelled from Halicarnassus by Lygdamis, its tyrant, and went into exile at Samos. He returned to help expel Lygdamis but the citizens then turned on him, and he was forced again to flee. In the course of his travels he came to Athens, where he made friends with Sophocles and participated in the foundation of the Athenian-led panhellenic colony of Thurii in southern Italy in 444/3.[4] He died either there or in Macedonia. We hear also that he requested the patronage of the Corinthians and Thebans for his work, but they rebuffed him, and he turned to the Athenians, who were delighted by his work, and voted to award him ten talents, a small fortune.[5] H. is said also to have performed his work at Olympia during the games, and to have had great success.[6]

The value of this type of biographical information is difficult to assess, but caution is in order, since it has been demonstrated, at least for poets and philosophers, that much of the ancient biographical tradition is simply

1 For H.'s life see Jacoby 1913: 213–80; HW 1.1–4; Myres 1953: 1–16; Brown 1988.

2 Suda, ss.vv. Ἡρόδοτος, Πανύασις.

3 His native city took pride in his achievement, as can be seen from several later inscriptions: *SGO* 01/12/01 speaks of the 'sweet mouth of H.' (5), and the recently discovered poem on the renown of Halicarnassus (*SGO* 01/12/02) calls him 'the prose Homer of history' (τὸν πεζὸν ἐν ἱστορίαισιν Ὅμηρον, 43).

4 On H. and Sophocles see Plut. *Mor.* 785B; cf. further S. West 1999. The designation of H. as 'Thurian' seems to have been common in antiquity: Aristotle's edition of H. began Ἡροδότου Θουρίου. See further Jacoby 1913: 205–9; Brown 1983.

5 Plut. *Her. mal.* 864C-D (Thebans); 862A-B (Athenians). The Athenian reward dwarfs comparable grants made to other writers and artists, and has rightly been suspected: see Loomis 1998: 88–96.

6 Lucian, *Hdt.* 1.

inference and interpretation based on the writers' own texts.[7] Given that H. was not a public figure, it is difficult to believe that much reliable information about him would have survived.[8] It is correspondingly easy to imagine that the stories about H.'s rejection at Corinth and Thebes, and his acclamation at Athens, derive from the fact that the Corinthians and Thebans are portrayed less flatteringly in the history than the Athenians.

His birth was put at 484 by the ancients: although based on conjecture it is probably close to the mark.[9] The date of his death is equally uncertain, and is in part based on the knowledge of later events that he shows in his text. It was long assumed, based on the supposed parody of 1.1–4 by Aristophanes' *Acharnians* of 425, that H.'s work must have been published by that date, and that he himself died shortly thereafter.[10] Other scholars have argued that H. lived through the Archidamian War (431–421),[11] and died sometime between its end and 414.[12] Whatever the correct date, there is no reason to think that the *Histories* were incomplete at H.'s death.[13]

H.'s own work suggests that he travelled widely. He claims explicitly to have travelled in Egypt as far south as Elephantine (2.29), and says he saw a battlefield littered with skulls at Pelusium in the Egyptian delta (3.12). He visited sanctuaries in Phoenicia (2.44) and saw monuments in Palestine (2.106), and his remarks on the fertility of Babylon (1.193) imply autopsy. In the north he travelled in the Black Sea area (4.76–81), and in the west saw Dodona (2.55), Zacynthus (4.195), Metapontum in southern Italy (4.15),

7 On the biographical tradition see Lefkowitz 1981 (for poets) and Riginos 1976 (for Plato).

8 Cf. Gould 1989: 17: 'Documentary evidence for H.'s life will not have existed, and it is unlikely that anyone was concerned to record the facts until long after anyone who had known him was still alive.'

9 Gellius (15.23) says that H. was 53 years old when the Peloponnesian War began. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Thuc.* 25), however, puts H.'s birth 'a little before the Persian Wars'.

10 Ar. *Acharn.* 523ff.; the issue hangs on whether Aristophanes' words constitute a close verbal parallel to H.'s; for different interpretations see Fornara 1971b; Cobet 1977. Pelling 2000: 154–5 suggests that H. and Aristophanes may independently parody a popular explanation for how wars begin.

11 Fornara 1971b and 1981; the traditional date is defended by Cobet 1977, 1987, and Sansone 1985.

12 It is assumed that H. was dead by the end of 414 because he does not know of the Spartan fortification of Decelea in spring 413: see 73.2n.

13 See 122n.

and (possibly) Cyrene in north Africa (4.156).[14] In mainland Greece he claims explicitly to have been in Thebes (5.59) and Sparta (3.55), and there can be little doubt that he visited Delphi and Athens.

Although one need not accept all the evidence of H.'s recitations at Olympia and Athens, it is nevertheless likely that his work became known to the public largely through recitations by the author. Oral performances on a great variety of subjects were common at all times in Greek culture, and 'wisdom contests', in which speakers vied for recognition and reward, are amply attested in H.'s time.[15] Indeed, although his massive work, longer than either *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, would be inconceivable without writing,[16] the society of H.'s time was largely oral, and much of his work would have been known from oral delivery.[17]

Perhaps most important for an understanding of the context of H.'s work is that he was researching and composing his history during the years of growing hostility between Sparta and Athens, which broke out into open war in 431. H. was chronicling the Persian Wars, but the Sparta and Athens of his own day never seem far from his thoughts. One sees this not only in his characterisation of Athens, Sparta, and Persia,[18] but also in the ironic (sometimes tragic) distance between the wholesale suffering and destruction brought upon Greece in his own time by the two great Hellenic powers, and the glorious collaborative effort between them that only a generation before had repelled the greatest empire ever known.[19] These years of hidden and open hostility throughout the Greek world form the essential backdrop to his history, and the frequent references to events after the Persian Wars call attention to the intra-Greek rivalry and enmity that was in such sharp contrast to the cooperation that had defeated the Persians.[20]

14 Despite his travels, H. knew no language other than Greek: see Meyer 1892: 1.192–5. For more on sources, below §4.

15 See Lloyd 1987: 50–108; Thomas 2000: 1–27; on orality in general, see Thomas 1992; cf. below, n. 30.

16 Flory 1980.

17 Witness H.'s own characterisation of his work as 'a *display* of inquiry' (ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις, *praef.*).

18 See below §3.

19 Fornara 1971a is fundamental on this issue; cf. Raaflaub 1987. For the influence of the Peloponnesian War see the notes on 26.2–7, 28.3, 54.1, 60, 72.2, 73.2, 90–104, 106.2–4; cf. below, n. 40.

20 H. himself marks this continuity of suffering, when he laments that during the reigns of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, Greece suffered more evils than in the

2. NARRATIVE MANNER AND TECHNIQUE

H.'s narrative manner and technique are formed from several precedents.[21] Among these is the influence of epic, and specifically of the Homeric narrator.[22] Like Homer, H. is an 'external' narrator, i.e., one who does not participate in the events, and who, unlike his characters, knows how the story ends.[23] Unlike Homer, however, H. is not an omniscient narrator, and he often expresses uncertainty about events and characters,[24] especially in the ascription of motives to individuals.[25]

H. is also, unlike Homer, an intrusive narrator, one who calls attention to himself in the act of narration, generally by using the first-person pronoun.[26] Such remarks are designed to guarantee the reliability of the narrator, most often centring on inquiry or reasoning.[27] In this H. resembles Pindar more than Homer: as the fashioner of the athlete's eternal *kleos*, Pindar plays a role akin to that of H. who also sees praise and the conferral of immortality as parts of his task.[28] The first person is prominent as well in the sophists and the medical writers of H.'s time,[29] and this similarity suggests that H. sees himself, like them, as part of the agonistic milieu of the fifth century, in which public displays of learning were judged and appreciated by a larger public.[30] Narrative intrusion is not limited, however, to the use of the first-person

previous twenty generations combined, some arising from the Persian Wars, others 'from the chief states themselves fighting over the leadership' (τῶν κορυφαίων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμεόντων, 6.98.2).

21 Important studies of Herodotean narrative include: Lang 1984; Beltrametti 1986; Darbo-Peschanski 1987; Dewald 1987; Payen 1990; Munson 1993a; Kuch 1995; Fowler 1996: 69–76; and de Jong 1999.

22 On the Homeric narrator see de Jong 1987; Richardson 1990.

23 The knowledge of the story's end by H. and his audience allows the author to bring out the irony and pathos of situations: see below, p. 8.

24 On Homer's omniscience, see P. Murray 1981; cf. de Jong 1987.

25 See, e.g., 5.2, 8.2 with nn.

26 Dewald 1987: 150 n.10 notes a total of 1,087 narrator interruptions in H.

27 Cf. in this Book, for example, 8.2, 16.1, 16.5, 32.2, 43.1–2, 64.1, 65.2, 68, 71.2, 84.1, 85.3, 113.2.

28 On Pindar's self-conscious narrative presence see Lefkowitz 1992: 1–71, 111–26; on its connection with H., Nagy 1990: 215–49.

29 It is particularly pronounced in *Airs, Waters, Places*; *On the Art*; and *On Breaths*; cf. Thomas 2000: 168–212.

30 On this milieu see Lloyd 1987: 83–108; Thomas 2000: 249–69.

pronoun or adjective. It can be seen wherever the narrator uses evaluative or analytic language.[31]

The role of the narrator, however, is but one aspect of narrative manner and structure. Other important features of narrative manner are focalisation, pace, and the structure of time. Focalisation, or point of view, is the orientation of the narrative, 'the centre of perception from which a story is presented'.[32] The primary narrator is, in some sense, always the one who speaks, but the narrative often is oriented from the perceptions of different characters.[33] Focalisation can vary even within the same story: in 108–13, events are presented through the eyes of Xerxes (108–109.1, 110.3–111.2), of Amestris (110.1–2), and of Masistes (113.1). The technique features also in H.'s battle descriptions, as at Plataea, for example, where the viewpoint is that of the Greeks first (61.3–62.1), then of the Persians (62.2–63.2). The use of varying focalisation was thought by ancient critics to give vividness (*enargeia*) to the narrative, since the narrator makes the reader a participant in and viewer of what is happening, and he brings to life the psychological state of the characters.[34]

Extremely important in the way narratives are structured is the issue of pace, that is, the relationship between story time (the events to be narrated) and discourse time (the particular way in which an author tells those events). The narrator may employ *summary*, a brief mention of action(s), which covers a great deal of story time but hardly any narrative time;[35] *scene*, in which story time and discourse time roughly coincide; and *pause*, where no movement of story time is involved.[36]

Also important is H.'s treatment of time. Although H.'s work has an underlying linear structure based on Persian expansion and conquest (following the sequence Cyrus – Cambyses – Darius – Xerxes), the narrator

31 Gribble 1998: 47–9. Cf. 100.2 on divine intervention, and 19.1 on the characterisation of those who took the Greek side as the ones who chose 'the better things'.

32 Rood 1998: 12.

33 Cf. Genette's distinction (1988: 185–9) between 'who speaks?' and 'who sees?'.

34 For the ancient sources and discussion see Walker 1993. Rood 1998 *passim* shows how focalisation is closely connected with strategies of explanation.

35 Cf. 87.1, the twenty days of the siege of Thebes mentioned in half a sentence.

36 For examples of pause, cf. the stories of Teisamenus (33.1–35.2), Hegesistratus (37.1–38.1), and Euenius (92.2–95).

himself consistently interrupts this forward movement by treating events that occurred before the current actions in the narrative (*analepsis*) and ones that will take place after the current actions (*prolepsis*).[37] This technique, which H. inherited from Homer,[38] helps to situate the actions narrated in the larger framework of Greek history: the events of the Persian Wars come to be seen as having a past that stretches back through time, and an effect that will reach into the future. It is common to employ the term 'digressions' to describe the movements away from the main thrust of the narrative; the English term, however, connotes something of secondary importance, yet the material in these digressions is not subsidiary to H.'s 'main' topic; rather, it reinforces the themes found elsewhere, and often portrays in miniature matters treated elsewhere on a grand scale.[39]

Certain analepses unite the Persian Wars with the heroic age, while many prolepses of events after 479 move the audience away from the united actions of the Persian Wars to the years of growing suspicion and hostility in the Greek world.[40] Such movements often have encoded within them implicit comments on the contemporary situation of the late fifth century. And the fact that H. ends the *Histories* with an analepsis that takes us back to a decision of the Persians at a crucial moment in their history suggests recurrent and universal truths, of which his history has been the illustration.[41]

Prolepses and analepses also contribute to *narrative retardation*: this technique, likewise well-known from Homer, provides a way of heightening the suspense and drawing out the importance of an incident or battle that forms a climax to the work. Just as Achilles cannot meet Hector as soon as he decides to return to the battle in *Iliad* 18, but must first be reconciled with

37 Prolepses and analepses can be further classified as internal or external: the former indicates that the events referred to are treated elsewhere in the text, while the latter indicates material that is not treated in the text. All of H.'s references to the Peloponnesian War, therefore, are external prolepses.

38 See de Jong 1999: 231–3. Analepses where a character is introduced are reminiscent of the way Homer gives the background of a warrior about to die: see Richardson 1990: 44–6.

39 H. himself refers to these as προσθῆκαι (4.30) or παρενθῆκαι (7.171.1); on digressions in H. and their thematic importance see esp. Cobet 1971, Flory 1987.

40 Especially striking here are the prolepsis and analepsis that surround the account of Sophanes of Decelea: 73.1–3 with nn. For other prolepses see 35.2, 37.4, 64.2, 73.3, 75, 105.

41 See 122n.

the Greeks and encounter a series of lesser foes,[42] so too in H. the climactic battle of Plataea[43] is preceded by a variety of forms of narrative build-up: the debate over the left wing (26–27), the catalogues of forces (28–32), the life-stories of the seers (33–37), the Persian conference (41–43), the visit of Alexander (44–45), the attempt by the Spartans and Athenians to change wings (46–47), the Persian challenge to the Spartans (48), and the refusal of Amompharetus to move (53–57).[44]

H., like many other 'archaic' writers, also employs *narrative delay*, that is, he postpones certain details of a story to a point at which they are most relevant. When Masistius, the Persian cavalry commander, is introduced, we are told that he is esteemed among the Persians (20), but only at his death, when H. notes the depth of the Persian grief, do we learn that he was second in renown only to Mardonius among the Persians and the King (24): the detail placed here explains why Persian grief was so profound. Similarly, the size of Artabazus' force is revealed only when he is preparing for flight (66.1).[45]

One particularly important aspect of H.'s narrative technique is his use of speeches, in which his work abounds: their very number and variety show H. an imitator of Homer and the product of a primarily oral society.[46] These speeches are in all likelihood H.'s own inventions, although it is possible that the more 'public' speeches may be based on traditions that H. heard. Some, such as that of the unnamed Persian at the Theban banquet, are suspect because they predict events or incorporate Herodotean themes.[47] Predictive speeches are often given to 'warners' or 'wise advisors', figures who appear with frequency in H.'s narrative, and who try to dissuade a character from actions that will bring disaster.[48] These speeches of wise

42 See Edwards 1991: 234, 286–7; Bremer 1987: 31–46.

43 The technique is also visible in the battles of Marathon, Thermopylae, and Salamis.

44 This is not to say that any of these incidents are invented by H. – on the contrary we may say that they were all part of the story – but rather to point out that the kind of narrative space he assigns to each of them, and his particular arrangement and elaboration of them, are what allow him to make a distinctive *narrative* of his own.

45 On narrative delay, see Fraenkel 1950: III.805; Rood 1998: 28; cf. 20, 24, 66.2, and 72.1 nn. below.

46 On speeches in H. see Deffner 1933; Solmsen 1944; Steinger 1957; Waters 1966; Heni 1976; Hohti 1976; Lang 1984; Lateiner 1989: 19–21.

47 See 16.1–4n.

48 On the 'wise advisor' motif, see Bischoff 1932; Lattimore 1939. For wise-advisor speeches see 16, 41.2–3, 122.

advisors are especially effective and receive most of their power because they are employed by an external narrator, who, as we said above, already knows the end towards which his history is moving. By this means, H. creates an atmosphere of foreshadowing and suspense: as with predictive speeches in Homer,[49] so too in H. the audience derives pleasure from its appreciation of the irony or pathos of the situation. Thus even if the sentiments were thought by H. to have been spoken by those particular characters at those particular times, the language, the structure, their placement in the narrative, and indeed even the arguments are H.'s own, and in this sense they are 'his' speeches.[50]

The prevalence of speech and dramatic irony in H. also owes much to tragedy.[51] Certain episodes, in their use of recognition (*anagnorisis*) and reversal (*peripeteia*), are strikingly similar to certain scenes in tragedies, just as certain characters reveal qualities similar to those of the protagonists of tragedy: the stories of Candaules and Gyges, Croesus and Adrastus, the birth of Cyrus, and Polycrates and his ring all show H.'s indebtedness to the techniques and methods of dramatic structure and portrayal.[52] Larger sections of the narrative also reveal an underlying tragic movement: that of Croesus' rise and fall covers much of Book 1, and the fates of Cambyses or Polycrates are played out at similar length.[53] The most extended treatment is given to Xerxes, who is a tragic character on the grand scale, occupying much of Books 7 to 9. Despite important differences, H.'s conception of Xerxes owes much to Aeschylus' portrait in the *Persians* of 472.[54] In Book 9, Xerxes' 'stand-in', Mardonius, fulfils the same function. He too is prideful and hybristic, he experiences a reversal from prosperity to destruction, and

49 Particularly with the prophecies of Achilles' death or the destruction of Troy: see Edwards 1991: 7–10.

50 For an approach that sees greater historicity in H.'s speeches, cf. Fornara 1983: 162–6.

51 On H. and tragedy see Schmid/Stählin 1934: 569–72; Waters 1966; Chiasson 1982; Romm 1998: 68–72; S. West 1999.

52 On Croesus see Immerwahr 1966: 69–71; in general see van der Veen 1996.

53 Myres 1953: 137; Immerwahr 1956/57.

54 Aesch. *Pers.* 739–52, 759–86. There is one particularly important distinction between the tragedian and the historian: the former characterises Xerxes as an anomaly among the Persian kings, who abandoned the good judgement of his predecessors (see esp. 759–64, 781–6). H., on the other hand, much concerned with imperialism in general, makes Xerxes the follower and culminator of a series of transgressive acts already committed by Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius: see Saïd 1981; Evans 1991: 62–3. On the violation of limits see Lateiner 1989: 126–44.

he learns too late the truth of the warnings about Greek power that various advisors have given him.[55] The influence of tragedy is thus strongly felt by H., but as with other influences, it does not dominate, but rather is integrated into a new kind of narrative forged from existing genres.

In narrative manner, then, H. shows a sophisticated and complex deployment of techniques that not only arrest the attention of readers, but also involve them fully in the events narrated. Heir to the traditions of epic, epinician, and Ionian inquiry and display, H. yet moulded a new kind of discourse which in its variety and scope sought to present a comprehensive picture of what he calls in the preface 'great and noble actions'. So far as we can tell, it was he who invented historical narrative for the Greeks, and he bequeathed to his successors the means by which they could explicate as well as understand the complexity of human action in history.

3. CHARACTERISATION

Ancient literary critics considered H. the historian of character (ἦθος), Thucydides the historian of emotion or suffering (πάθος).[56] H. delineates character by both direct and indirect means: the former involves the use of explicit character sketches, while the latter avoids overt comment by the narrator and instead shows character as it is revealed in action.[57] In Book 9 the two major characters are Mardonius, the commander of the Persian forces, and Pausanias, regent for his cousin Pleistarchus and commander-in-chief of the Greek forces.

Mardonius is first introduced in 492, still a young man (6.43.1) and sent as commander by Darius to subdue Athens and Eretria.[58] His mission is marked by disaster: the fleet is destroyed in a storm and his men are attacked by the Thracian Brygi; Mardonius himself is even wounded (6.43–45). Although the expedition wins over Macedon and Thrace, they return to Persia not having accomplished their task, and the next year Darius replaces Mardonius (6.94.2). The crucial scene for establishing Mardonius' character is the great debate on whether to invade Greece (7.8–11). Motivated by the desire to be satrap of Greece (7.6.1), Mardonius urges Xerxes

55 On Mardonius' character see below, §3.

56 Dion. Hal. *Pomp.* 3 (II. 382–4 Usher).

57 For the distinction between 'direct' and 'indirect' characterisation see Bruns 1898, who, however, failed to appreciate H.'s abilities: see Fornara 1971 a: 66.

58 On H.'s portrait of Mardonius see Evans 1991: 67–75; Romm 1998: 166–7, 196–7.

on by both praising the Persians' tradition of expansion and denigrating the bravery of the Greeks. He tendentiously misrepresents his expedition of 491, suggesting that no Greeks opposed him, and the Persians therefore have nothing to fear from such people (7.9). He thus plays a role opposite to that of wise advisor, and is chastised by Artabanus who rebukes him for his youth, rashness, and self-serving advice to the King (7.10, esp. 10η).

For Xerxes' great expedition, Mardonius is one of the six commanders-in-chief of the land army (7.82). After the Persian defeat at Salamis, Mardonius (in fear, H. says, of being punished) suggests an immediate attack on the Peloponnese or, failing this, that Xerxes go back and leave him with a body of picked troops (8.100). Mardonius is given command over the Persians and their allies (8.107); during the winter of 480/79, he applies to the various oracles (8.133), and then makes an appeal to Athens to take the side of the Persians (8.136, 140). As Book 9 opens, he marches from winter quarters in Thessaly into Boeotia, and refuses the Boeotian appeal to remain at Thebes and use bribery to foment discord in the Greek cities; he is instead desirous of taking Athens a second time (3.1). Mardonius prefers to decide the issue with arms, not gold: when the advice is repeated to him again (41), he similarly dismisses it, interpreting it as a sign of cowardice. His impetuousness proves fatal, when he decides to ignore the omens that counsel delay, and instead crosses the Asopus to attack the Spartans (41.4).

Mardonius shares with the Persians in general a consistent inability to understand the Greek nature and character. As Xerxes had failed to grasp the Spartan way of fighting and their love of freedom (7.102–104), so too Mardonius does not see the true nature of the Greeks whom he is fighting until it is too late. He misunderstands the Athenian love of freedom, and he especially underestimates the Spartans. In the debate over whether to invade Greece, Mardonius had claimed that the mainland Greeks would be as weak as the Greeks of Asia whom the Persians held in subjugation (7.9α.1), and events at Plataea superficially seemed to confirm this prejudice. He thinks the Spartan attempt to change wings with the Athenians a sign of cowardice (48.1–4n.), and when Pausanias withdraws his troops for a better position, Mardonius thinks they are retreating and mocks them as cowards afraid to oppose real men (58). The words that recur in H.'s characterisation of him are 'folly' and 'intransigence'.[59]

Yet at the crucial moment he performs well, fighting bravely throughout the battle, and serving as the heart and soul of his Persians. H.'s final image

59 See 3.1, 41.4nn.

of him, surrounded by his men and fighting to the last from his white stallion (63), is heroic and memorable. Moreover, Mardonius' importance as a character has been brought out by the prophecies of his death, a Homeric technique that lends pathos to his imminent destruction:[60] Artabanus, with a Homeric reminiscence, warns that Mardonius will become a prey to birds and dogs (7.10θ.3), and Xerxes, in the aftermath of Thermopylae, says in jest that Mardonius will give restitution to the Greeks.[61]

Mardonius is thus a far from simple character in the *Histories*: passionate and energetic, he wished, H. says, either to bring Greece into subjection, or, failing that, 'to die nobly, running the risk for a great cause' (8.100.1). To a certain extent he bears a resemblance to Hector in the *Iliad*, who likewise is ignorant of the gods' will, yet performs great deeds on the losing side. The important difference is that Mardonius is guilty of moral failing in a way that Hector is not, for Mardonius is the agent of imperialism, a man who ignores the omens of the gods and attempts to bring whole nations into slavery.[62]

Opposed to him for much of Book 9 is Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus.[63] Like Mardonius he is a young man, and, in a sense, also acting for a king, although in Pausanias' case it is as guardian and regent for his under-age cousin Pleistarchus. The two mentions of Pausanias before Book 9, both external prolepses, note his dedication of a bronze crater at the Hellespont after the Greek victory (4.81) and his desire 'to be tyrant of Greece' and to marry the daughter of the Persian Megabates – although H. adds here a cautionary 'if indeed the story is true' (5.32). To appreciate H.'s portrayal of Pausanias, it is necessary to sketch Pausanias' later career, since H. assumed such knowledge in his audience and fashioned his portrait of Pausanias with these events in mind.[64]

Thucydides (1.94–95, 128–34) provides the fullest report on Pausanias' activities after 479.[65] Pausanias was sent out in 478 as commander of the Greek forces, and this expedition won over most of Cyprus and expelled

60 Cf. the repeated prophecies of Achilles' death and the fall of Troy.

61 For the passage see 64.1 n. The death of Masistius also prefigures that of Mardonius: Evans 1991: 69.

62 Cf. Immerwahr 1966: 289–90, who remarks that Mardonius 'shows initiative only when he goes against the gods'. For more on Mardonius and Hector see 41 n.

63 On H.'s portrait of Pausanias see Fornara 1971a: 62–6; Hart 1982: 152ff.; Evans 1991: 80–6.

64 For the sources on the career of Pausanias after Plataea see Hill/Meiggs/Andrewes 1951: 358.

65 For a summary of the differences between H.'s and Thuc.'s accounts of Pausanias see Evans 1991: 83–4.

the Persians from Byzantium, but he then began to act arrogantly. When the Greeks dedicated the first fruits of their victory over the Persians, he supposedly inscribed their communal dedication at Delphi with only his own name, which the Spartans immediately erased, inscribing instead the cities who had participated in the war.[66] His behaviour became so overbearing that he provoked the Greeks, especially the Ionians, into asking the Athenians to take the command. The Spartans in the meantime recalled Pausanias because of reports that he was acting like a tyrant, and a suspicion that he was collaborating with the Persians. Thucydides even quotes a letter (certainly fictional) in which Pausanias offers to marry the King's daughter and to bring Sparta and Greece under the King's control (1.128.7). Pausanias also at this time took to wearing Median clothing whenever he left Byzantium, surrounding himself with a bodyguard of Medes and Egyptians when in Thrace, and having a Persian table set for himself (1.130). Nevertheless, on his return to Sparta, he was acquitted (1.95). Thereafter, acting as a private citizen, he made for the Hellespont, continued to intrigue with the Persians, and was again ordered home to Sparta. Though distrustful, the Spartans had no evidence against him, until they suborned an informer, and the ephors eavesdropped on the conversation. Before they could arrest him, however, he fled as a suppliant to the temple of the Goddess of the Brazen House (1.132–133). The ephors walled up the temple and starved him out, removing him from the sacred precinct just before he breathed his last (1.134–135).

Pausanias' later career was thus marred by charges of tyrannical behaviour and medism. We cannot enter here into the question of the truth of these stories, other than to note that some scholars consider them invented later, possibly by the Athenians. It is certainly significant that Pausanias was acquitted the first time he returned to Sparta and only with difficulty convicted the second.[67] More important for our purposes is the fact that H. himself indicates suspicions about the stories. The cautious remark, already mentioned, 'if indeed the story is true' (5.32) concerning the proposed marriage to a Persian's daughter can be put together with the remark (8.3.2) that the Athenians 'deprived the Lacedaemonians of the hegemony, bringing forward as a pretext (πρόφασιν) the insolent behaviour

66 Thuc. 1.132.2 quotes the couplet: Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων | Παυσανίας Φοίβωι μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

67 See Cawkwell 1970; Rhodes 1970; Badian 1993a: 121–2, 1993b: 130–2; Hornblower 1983: 25.

of Pausanias'.[68] Now the question of H.'s beliefs here is important, for it colours our appreciation of his portrait of Pausanias: put simply, if H. believed that Pausanias went on to become a mediser and a would-be tyrant, then his characterisation of him in Book 9 must be suffused with irony;[69] if, on the other hand, H. did not accept the stories, then his characterisation of Pausanias was straightforwardly panegyrical and (possibly) the expression of his belief in the innocence of the man.

Certainly the portrait of Pausanias to emerge from Book 9 is consistently favourable, although the manner is indirect. Pausanias' willingness to change wings with the Athenians indicates that he cares more for victory than the credit for that victory: his decision is based on strategic considerations (46–48).[70] He displays piety when he refuses to attack before the omens are favourable, and during the brutal onslaught by the Persian archers, he looks to the temple of Hera at the crucial moment and implores the goddess to send assistance: only when the omens prove favourable does he attack (61.3). After the battle, when the Theban medisers have been captured, he shows compassion and forgiveness to Attaginus' children (88.1 with n.). His character emerges most clearly, however, in three vignettes after the battle, where he shows respect for the suppliant, refuses to outrage the corpse of Mardonius, and disparages the folly of the Persians for attacking so poor a country as Greece. His ability to observe proper behaviour at the apex of his fortune – having just won 'the fairest victory of all those we know' (64.2) – contrasts sharply with other

68 Munson 1993b: 47 n.43 minimises the importance of the addition in the former passage. The emphatic manner of expression, however, – εἰ δὴ ἀληθές γέ ἐστι ὁ λόγος – suggests exactly the opposite. Moreover, the fact that H. has placed these items far away from the glorious portrayal of Book 9 (what in narratology is called anachronic displacement) greatly reduces the effect of this story on our evaluation of Pausanias.

69 Fornara 1971a: 63–6; Gould 1989: 117–18. Fornara asserts that 'the recollection of Pausanias' greatness' could not have survived his disgrace (63) and that H.'s account of Pausanias was an 'imaginative recreation' (66). Fornara's view rests on the assumption that Pausanias was universally believed to have been a traitor and thus H. himself must have made up the favourable anecdotes which he tells about him (62–6). This is certainly to be misled by Thucydides' insistence on his guilt. Pausanias is more likely to have been a controversial figure (like Alcibiades later), and Thucydides' narrative of his fall is highly tendentious (as Fornara 1966 himself argues).

70 For a different interpretation, arguing that Pausanias' fear contributes to a realistic portrait of him, see Evans 1991: 82.

examples of abusive and excessive behaviour in the *Histories*.[71] We cannot know whether H. accepted the stories of Pausanias' later activities – although direct and indirect remarks suggest that he did not – but there is no doubt that in Book 9 Pausanias serves as the focal point for Greek values and self-definition.

H. characterises not only individuals but also whole peoples. In Book 9 the most important are Athenians, Spartans, Ionians, and Persians. The Ionians receive the least emphasis, and it seems clear that H. had little sympathy for them or their plight: they are weak, incapable of prolonged and concerted action, averse to hard work, and soft and effeminate.[72] Although they have a few moments of glory – they fight bravely at the battle of Lade, for instance (6.14–15) – their usual role is to be the playthings of greater powers.

The Spartans are portrayed as surprisingly dilatory, fearful, and at times concerned only with their own safety. As the Book opens, they are feverishly building their wall across the Isthmus and putting the Athenians' request for assistance on hold (7–8), and they are moved to action only when they hear the advice of Chileus of Tegea (9). Pausanias and the Spartans also show fear of the Persians, as when Pausanias offers to change wings with the Athenians (46.1). And yet in the actual fighting their performances are extraordinary: at Thermopylae to a man they stand up to face the vastly superior army of Persia (7.210–212, 223–226), and at Plataea they endure a punishing assault by the Persian archers until the omens are favourable, and then fight most bravely of all (9.71.1).

The Athenians, by contrast, are daring, aggressive, and unswervingly brave. H. extols their whole-hearted commitment to the anti-Persian cause and their self-sacrifice throughout the Persian invasion (7.139). To them H. gives the control of the outcome of the war: 'whichever side they joined was sure to prevail' (7.139.4). Pausanias likewise says explicitly that they had been most eager throughout the whole war (60.3). Yet these Athenians can also be self-serving, threatening before Salamis to abandon their homes and settle in Italy (8.62.2), or warning the Spartans that

71 Cf. 76–85 with nn. for the three incidents; for the contrast of Pausanias' behaviour with Xerxes', cf. 108–113n.; for the contrast with the Athenians, 116–120n.

72 See 106.2–4n. Cf. esp. 6.11, where the Phocaean commander Dionysius calls the Ionians to freedom, and attempts to prepare them for battle; they undergo his strict discipline for only a week, and then refuse to train any longer. For their failure even to join in their liberation at Mycale, cf. 90.2–3n.

they will make peace with the King (9.11.2 with n.); more ominously, in their last actions after Mycale, they already begin to look like the aggressors of Thucydides' *Pentekontaetia*, attacking territory by themselves, enduring a long siege, and inflicting savage punishments when they are victorious.[73] The contrast that the Corinthians of Thucydides' history draw between Athenian resolute action and Spartan delay (1.68–71) is already present in H.'s history.

The Persians, as mentioned above, are the driving force of the history, portrayed throughout as aggressive and imperialistic. Their *nomos*, Xerxes says, is always to move forward and to add to their empire, and in so doing, they are prepared to attack the innocent as well as the guilty (7.8α–δ). Their actions in burning the shrines of the gods and heroes of the Greeks, and their attempt on the temple of Apollo at Delphi (8.35–39), show them to be impious and heedless of the customs of others. At the same time, they are portrayed as 'simple' people, who speak the truth (1.136.2). They are proud men and brave fighters, and they esteem courage (even in an enemy) more than any other nation.[74] In contrast to their allies, who are often faulted for cowardice,[75] the Persians at Marathon (6.113), Plataea and Mycale fight bravely and to the end. At Plataea in particular, they grapple in hand-to-hand combat with the Spartans, even though their equipment is greatly inferior (62.2–3). Just as Mardonius resembles Hector, so the Persians recall the Trojans in Homer. Both Trojans and Persians have many allies, all speaking a different language; both dress in gorgeous clothing; and both issue challenges to single combats (which they fail to win).[76] Like Homer, H. treats the 'enemy' with a certain amount of sympathy, equal in some ways to that given to the Greeks.[77] Yet at the same time, as with the Trojans of the *Iliad*, the Persians are, at least morally, the aggressors and must be

73 See 116–120n.

74 Cf. their treatment of the Greek Pytheas, who in attacking the Persians nearly died; the Persians dress his wounds so as to save his life and exhibit him admiringly to all (7.181).

75 See 67–68nn.; cf. Mardonius' words to Xerxes after Salamis (8.100.4) that the Persian allies were involved in the disgrace, not the Persians themselves. The largely negative features of the barbarians are displaced onto the Persian allies: see 59.2n.

76 On these characteristics of the Trojans see Griffin 1980: 4–5. E. Hall 1989: 19–30, however, shows that many of the supposed differences between Achaeans and Trojans do not really exist.

77 Cf. Fornara 1983: 62; against exaggerated claims of Homeric objectivity, however, see de Jong 1987, esp. 221–9.

portrayed as such.[78] Their function therefore is two-fold: they provide a worthy opponent for the Greeks, and their defeat is in accord with the moral sentiments of the author and his audience, whose view of the war (and the world) demands that aggression and impiety be punished.

4. HISTORICAL METHODS AND SOURCES

H.'s historical method is a complex phenomenon, not easily reduced to a series of rules or a consistent and coherent set of choices.[79] The picture that emerges is rather one of disparate methods, and various and at times contradictory approaches to his sources. Unlike Thucydides, H. nowhere has a methodological chapter, in which he delineates a method that he claims to have followed consistently throughout his work. In addition, the disparate nature of material treated by H. – geography, ethnography, and historical actions – makes it unlikely that he used a single method. Oral tradition must have been the basis for much of H.'s 'historical' narrative. Important too would have been the author's *gnomē*, i.e., his conjecture, opinion, reasoning, or refutation. To explain motivations, for example, H. must often have had recourse to his own imagination, even if he based such things on the subsequent actions or remarks of the historical characters.[80] Indeed, the one universal principle espoused by H. is λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, 'to say what is said', i.e., to report oral tradition, although he is not obliged to believe everything that he reports (7.152.3). It seems clear, then, that for the historical narrative of the latter books (including Book 9), H. relied on the reports of participants, people who had been present or who had heard from those who had.[81] If H. was born *c.* 484, he would have been in a position to interview men who were present and had fought in 479, such as Thersander of Orchomenus, whom he names as his source for a marvellous story before the battle of Plataea (16.1). On the other hand, H. almost certainly did not speak with members of the high command, since Pausanias, Aristides, and Xanthippus would have all been dead long before he began his researches.

As part of his emphasis on oral tradition, H. employs 'source-citations', usually couched in the form 'so-and-so say'. H. cites all the major Greek city-states, several minor ones, and numerous foreigners, including

78 Pandaros' violation of the truce at *Il.* 4.85–147 puts the Trojans morally at fault: see Taplin 1992: 104–9.

79 On H.'s historical method, see esp. Verdin 1971 and Lateiner 1989.

80 On *gnomē* in H. see Corcella 1984: 57–91.

81 On autopsy in H. see Schepens 1980: 33–93.

Egyptians, Lydians, Persians, and Scythians.[82] There are also anonymous 'priests' and, very rarely, named individuals.[83] Whether Greek or foreign, H. presents these accounts as living traditions, and the source citations thus serve both as the basis of H.'s narrative, and (simultaneously) its validation. They give variant versions of events, often for what must have been contentious (and living) issues;[84] they add details not previously known;[85] and they validate the unusual or the marvellous.[86] Although some recent scholarship has seriously called into question the veracity of H.'s source citations, most scholars still believe that these preserve at least some traces of contemporary tradition.[87]

It was once fashionable to believe that previous written sources underlay much of H.'s narrative.[88] While it is likely that an occasional documentary source forms the basis of his account, as in the Persian satrapy list (3. 89–96) or the catalogue of Persian forces (7.61–98),[89] much is uncertain beyond this. We know the names of several authors who wrote during the fifth century, some of whom may have treated Plataea and Mycale before H., although many scholars believe that with the exception of Hecataeus their works all appeared after H.'s history;[90] nor can we tell from their meagre

82 For a list and discussion of the source-citations see von Gutschmid 1893: 145–87; Jacoby 1913: 398–9, with Jacoby's discussion of the sources, 419–67; Fehling 1989 *passim*.

83 See 2.55 (Promeneia, Timarete, and Nicandra, priestesses at Dodona); 3.55.3 (Archias); 4.76.6 (Tymnes); and below, 16.1 (Thersander), with n.

84 On variant versions in H. see Groten 1963; Fehling 1989: 143–7; Lateiner 1989: 76–90; for the use of variant versions in ancient historians generally, see Marincola 1997: 280–6.

85 See 73.1 n. 86 See 120.1 n.

87 The matter is too complex to treat in detail here: for the most fundamental assault see Fehling 1989, esp. 12–86, who believes that H. follows unvarying rules in his citation of sources and that the citations themselves are fictitious; cf. Armayor 1977–8, 1978a–c, 1980, 1985, who emphasises the 'Greek' character of H.'s reports of foreign lands and peoples; cf. also S. West 1985, 1991. For a defence (although problematic) of H.'s work see Pritchett 1995; cf. the more nuanced studies of Murray 1987, Thomas 1989, esp. 165–72, 247–51; Evans 1991: 89–146; Luraghi 2001.

88 This had a respectable ancient pedigree, since Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 5 gives the names of many writers whom he imagines to have been active before H. For a brief overview of the written sources debate see Fehling 1989: 1–5.

89 For these see Lewis 1985: 346–7, 357–60; but cf. Armayor 1978c, who argues that Greek tradition lies behind the catalogue of forces.

90 The authors are Charon of Lampsacus (*Persica*, *Hellenica*), Damastes of Sigeum (*On events in Greece*), Hellanicus of Lesbos (*Persica*), Dionysius of Miletus (*Persica*), and Aristophanes of Boeotia (*Boeotica*). For the standard view that all such historians are

fragments whether they even gave a detailed narrative of the Persian Wars. Even Hecataeus, who was certainly important for the earlier books, could have had little relevance for Book 9.

It is usually assumed that H. was greatly influenced by and dependent upon Athenian tradition, as well as that of the Samians, since each group figures prominently in the history. Yet we must beware of assuming that fullness of treatment is directly dependent on the availability of sources.[91] The detail with which H. treats Mardonius' actions and intentions in Book 9, for example, might suggest a Persian source at or near the seat of power, but it is just as likely that H. imaginatively 'recreated' Mardonius' viewpoint from what his Greek sources had told him of the actions at Plataea. In any case, we cannot, in the absence of explicit citations, ascribe portions of the narrative to specific sources.[92] That we cannot put a name or nationality to much of H.'s material is indeed frustrating, but it is also evidence that H. was not simply a collector of *logoi*, but rather a skilled narrative artist who fashioned existing traditions into a whole greater than the sum of its parts.

Although prose accounts of Plataea before H. seem unlikely, the historian may have used poetic sources.[93] The publication in 1992 of papyrus fragments from Simonides of Ceos' elegiac narrative poem on the battle of Plataea has raised the question whether this poem in particular was a source for H.[94] Simonides was, in some sense, *the* Persian Wars poet, composing accounts of all the major battles: Artemisium (elegy and lyric); Thermopylae (lyric); Salamis (lyric, possibly an elegy); and Plataea. He also wrote epigrams and possibly an elegy on Marathon.[95] Whereas H. wrote Book 9

later than H., see Jacoby 1956: 16–64, who considered only Dionysius earlier than H. Jacoby's views have been questioned recently: see Fowler 1996, who argues that some of the so-called 'local' historians were known to H.; so too Marincola 1999.

91 As does Nyland 1992. See the excellent arguments of Rood 1998: 48–52 on this issue in Thuc., esp. 51: the 'assumption that sources, not thematic concerns, explain the shape of Thuc.'s narrative is dangerous.'

92 H.'s use of focalisation to give vividness to his narrative (above, §2) also complicates the search for individual sources.

93 Choerilus of Samos wrote an epic *Persica*, known only from a few meagre fragments (*PEG* FF 1–12; *SH* 314–23), but as he was a contemporary of Lysander (Plut. *Lys.* 18), his work could not have been available to H.

94 See Appendix A.

95 The length of these poems is unknown, but that on Plataea comprised at least 100 lines: cf. West 1993: 4. The testimonia are most conveniently found in Campbell's

between forty and sixty years later, Simonides' poem was evidently composed within a few years of the battle. Although mutilated and incomplete, the fragments are suggestive in broad terms of the themes and tendency of Simonides' poem. When and where Simonides' Plataea elegy was first performed is uncertain,[96] but the current consensus is that it was a panhellenic event within a few years after Plataea. Given the prominent praise of Pausanias (F 11.33–4) and the tradition that he was an acquaintance of Simonides,[97] it has even been suggested that the poem was commissioned by Pausanias himself. The poem was clearly encomiastic, making an explicit comparison with the Trojan War, and including a description of the death of Achilles. Credit for the victory at Plataea was not, as in H., limited to Athens, Sparta, and Tegea, but was extended to other states. Whereas in H. the Corinthians disobey Pausanias' orders (52) and miss the battle altogether (69), Simonides gives them a prominent role in the battle (FF 15–16). No doubt there were other differences as well. It might be tempting to explain this discrepancy by postulating that H. was misled by the anti-Corinthian prejudice of his Athenian sources.[98] However that may be, caution is in order since the relationship between the two accounts is difficult to disentangle, especially as the papyrus fragments (of which not a single line survives complete) have been cleverly (and at times brilliantly) restored by editors who have based their supplements on H.: the danger of circularity is obvious. Therefore, although it may seem likely that H. had heard, if not read, a major poem by the most renowned lyric poet of the fifth century, the fragments themselves offer no indisputable evidence that he did. Here, as elsewhere, we are left uncertain about H.'s methods. His use of sources, and the ways in which he put together the first historical work of western literature, still remain imperfectly understood.

Loeb edition; for discussion see Boedeker 1995: 218–19, 223, and Rutherford 2001: 35–40; for the Thermopylae poem see also Flower 1998.

96 Important discussions to date are Aloni 1997 (arguing for a Spartan commission); Boedeker 1995, 2001 a, and 2001 b; Schachter 1998.

97 Pl. *Ep.* 2.311 a; Plut. (*Cons. ad Apoll.* 105a) reports that Simonides, in reaction to Pausanias' arrogance, advised him to remember that he was only a human being.

98 H.'s attitude towards the Corinthians is difficult to discern. In the narrative of Salamis, for example, although the Corinthians do not figure in his account of the actual battle, he notes that they claim to have played a central role and that the rest of Greece supports them (8.94; cf. below, 52n.). In the narrative of Mycale, he includes them among the participants in the narrative itself (102.3, 105 with nn.).

5. THE BATTLES OF PLATAEA AND MYCALE

In 480 Xerxes led a vast armada and land force to incorporate mainland Greece into the Persian empire. Although Thucydides judged (1.23.1) that this war had a quick resolution in two land battles (Thermopylae and Plataea) and two sea-battles (Artemisium and Salamis), H. devoted three full books to these events, treating first the campaigns of Xerxes in 480 (Books 7–8) and then that of Mardonius, whom he left in command (Book 9). In this last book, Mardonius is decisively defeated at the battle of Plataea in Boeotia, and the Greek fleet, under the command of the Spartan king Leotychidas, begins the liberation of Ionia with the victory at Mycale.

(a) *Modern approaches and methods*

Most modern historians who write on the Persian Wars rationalise the account of H., while supplementing it with details extracted from later sources. The major difficulty with this method is that it relies on two assumptions, both of which are problematic. First, it assumes that the truth of what actually happened is somehow latent in the text, buried under layers of political bias and literary elaboration, waiting only to be extracted. Although it is tempting to try, no process of scraping away the presumed later accretions, like so many layers of varnish on an old painting, will necessarily reveal the true story underneath.[99] Any modern narrative so derived, no matter how clever the arguments employed, can never attain a greater level of probability than H.'s own narrative.[100] Second, the propensity to rationalise assumes that people always act in rational ways and for rational motives. When individuals or groups do seemingly foolish things in H., such as Amompharetus refusing to retreat when Pausanias had ordered him to do so (53–7) or the contingents of the Greek centre wilfully disobeying their orders during the night withdrawal (52), one cannot assume prima facie that the truth must have been otherwise. Rationality may reign in the repose of the scholar's study, but real life is messy, chaotic,

99 Cf. Moles 1993 for an excellent discussion of the difficulties with this method.
100 On the problems involved in reconstructing ancient battles, see Whatley 1964 (written in 1920; still fundamental). Cf. Woodman 1988: 15–23 and Osborne 1996: 337, who comments about the invasion of 480/79: 'Ignorance of troop numbers itself makes battle reconstruction futile, but in any case stories about what happened in the battles became so politically charged that no confidence can be placed in any claims about what went on.... The military story that can be told is therefore thin.'

and unpredictable; in other words, not unlike H.'s description of it. The most believable modern treatments of the Plataea and Mycale campaigns, in the sense that they involve the least amount of fanciful speculation and historical anachronism, are those which follow the general lines of H.'s own text most closely.[101] Does this mean that we should accept every detail of H.'s narrative at face value? If we expect him to have the same mentality and goals as a modern historian, who ostensibly wants to record as accurately as possible what actually happened, the answer must necessarily be no. It is probably pointless to pose the question in this form, since even if H. thought that he was recording 'what actually happened', that is likely to have meant something different to him than to us. Even when his depiction of events and motives seems true to life and plausible, that is no guarantee that it is factual. The relationship of the real world (what actually happened in the past) to its representation in the world of the *Histories* is complex, untidy, and largely inscrutable.

Despite the caveats mentioned above, this commentary occasionally attempts to draw inferences from H.'s text, to rationalise it, and to correct it, for without doing so it is impossible to write traditional history. No one would deny that some hard facts about the past are knowable: the Persians, after all, *were* defeated, Mardonius *was* killed, Ionia *was* liberated, and the Greeks *did* erect monuments to celebrate their victory. It has well been said that 'those who died at Salamis or Syracuse were not killed by a text, and we owe it to them to try to find out what happened.'[102] Yet if one is determined to make the journey from literary creation to its underlying reality in the world of speeches, deeds, and monuments, it is necessary to be cognisant of the limitations which govern such endeavours. Extreme and anachronistic speculation, the arbitrary supplementation of H. by later sources, inferences based on what a 'reasonable' person would do, must all be avoided. The greater (although not exclusive) emphasis in this commentary will be on how H. tells the story, rather than on trying to reconstruct the story that he should have told.

101 Of modern accounts Lazenby 198–247 is the most sensible, Green 201–87 the most readable. Other major treatments include Woodhouse 1898; Ufer: 1924–31; Hignett 240–344, 418–38; Burn 488–566; and *CAH* IV². 592–622. Wright 1904: 144–8 gives a critical summary of scholarship written between 1785 and 1904. The fullest guides to the topography of Plataea are Pritchett 1957, 1965, 1979, and 1985; but much remains controversial.

102 Pelling 2000: viii.

Some basic principles should be made explicit. First, the *Histories* are a literary creation, and this has important implications for how we understand the text. H. did not haphazardly set down what he knew, but rather constructed his narrative with great care. As a result, it is not legitimate to pick and choose what one wants to believe while ignoring the context of the surrounding narrative. Since, however, H. most likely invented speeches and motivations,[103] the modern reader may, albeit with considerable caution, infer motives different from those provided by H. Second, H. was concerned to write a narrative that had meaning for his contemporary audience, while at the same time preserving the memory of great deeds. Contemporary allusions, often hard for us to discern, enhanced the meaning of the story: H. expected his audience 'to think of the present while they were hearing of the past'.[104] Third, H. constructed his narrative of the Persian Wars on the template of Homeric epic, especially the *Iliad.* Allusion to a Homeric prototype helps to make an incident more heroic and memorable. Homeric reminiscences can structure a story even when the particulars do not precisely correspond; they elevate the significance of actions, and make them more comprehensible to an audience raised on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

(b) The battles of Plataea and Mycale

In mid-July of 479 the largest Greek hoplite army ever to take the field, some 38,700 hoplites (with at least as many light-armed support troops), met the army of Mardonius in Boeotia. H. puts Mardonius' Asiatic force at 300,000 men, which is surely impossible: something between 30,000 and 60,000 is more likely.[105] One suspects, despite H., that the Persian army was not much larger than the Greek. At the same time, however, H.'s claim that Mardonius was short of supplies is plausible. Both of these conclusions seem to be confirmed by Thucydides 6.33.5, where Hermocrates exhorts the Syracusans to resist by drawing a parallel with the Persian invasion of Greece, suggesting that Persian mistakes and lack of provisions were the

103 See above, §2. 104 Raaflaub 1987: 229; cf. 230–4.

105 The question of numbers, however, which were consistently inflated in antiquity and in any case hard to judge, need not affect our estimate of the narrative as a whole: see 32.2n.

primary cause of their failure and that the Persian army was not larger than that of the united Greek forces.[106]

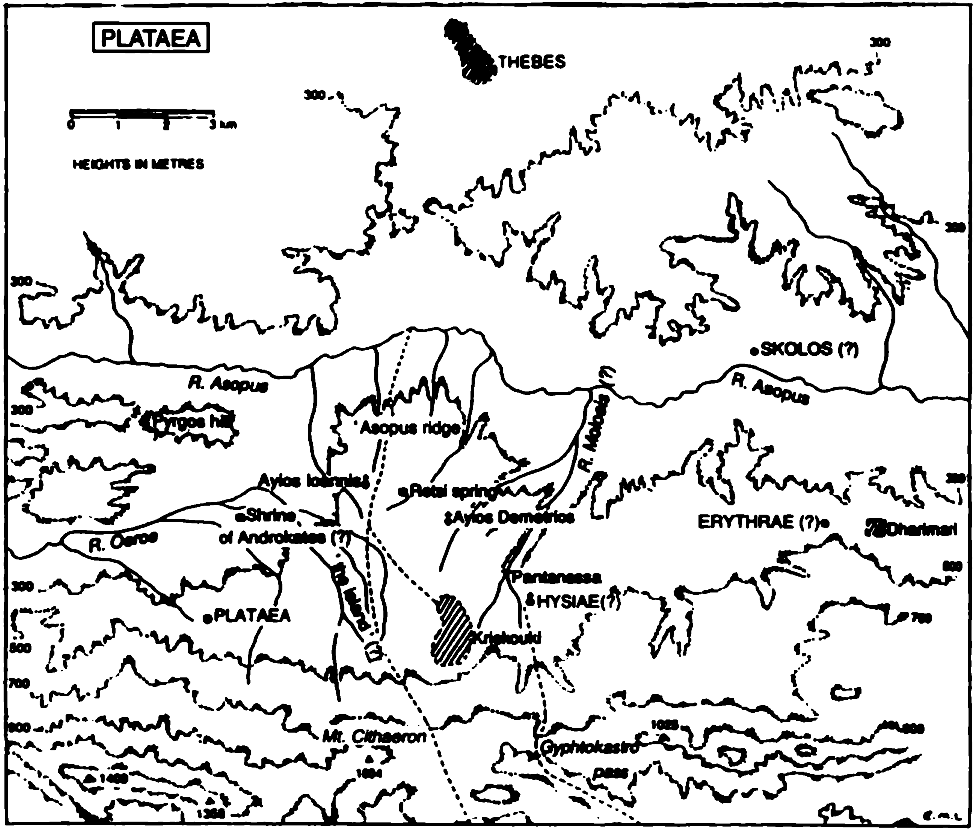
Any attempt to reconstruct the precise position and movement of troops is made problematic by the highly schematic nature of H.'s topographical descriptions. None of his major topographical markers has been located with certainty,[107] which is not surprising, since not only has the terrain changed over the centuries, but also H. himself did not intend to give precise details, and undoubtedly was not expecting his audience, contemporary or future, to explore the battlefield with a copy of his text in hand. Virtually all of his measurements for the topography of Plataea, for example, are either 10 or 20 stades, which in itself shows that his notion of precise measurement differs from ours. To judge from H.'s account, one would expect to find a fairly flat plain on either side of the Asopus with some hilly ground on the Greek side (25.3), whereas in fact the ground is broken on both sides, and especially so around the probable Spartan position on the right wing. In sum, the terrain is far more complex than H. suggests.

After a preliminary skirmish along the foothills of Mt. Cithaeron near Erythrae, the Greek and Persian armies took up positions on either side of the river Asopus. Twelve days then passed, with neither side initiating a full-scale attack. H. claims that Mardonius was eager for a battle, but that both he and Pausanias were prevented from crossing the Asopus by unfavourable omens. Although one should not doubt the sincerity of Greek religious practice in matters of divination, these omens fit the tactical situation perfectly: H. does not bring this out, but the terrain is flatter and more suitable for cavalry on the northern side of the Asopus where Mardonius was encamped, but broken on the southern side where the Greek allies were. The strongest arm of the Persian army was its cavalry, and so it was incumbent upon each side to try to lure the other across the river.

Nevertheless, at least one modern scholar has proposed that Mardonius was actually avoiding a fight altogether, expecting that if the Peloponnesian army went home without a fight, the Spartans would never again venture beyond the Isthmus and the Athenians would be compelled to

106 We thank George Cawkwell for calling our attention to this passage. Cf. Thuc. 1.69.5, where the Corinthians likewise say that the Greek victory was more the result of Persian error. These sentiments, however, are in line with Thucydides' general devaluation of the Persian Wars and may represent his own beliefs.

107 See 15.3n., 25.2n., 51.1n., 57.2n.


PLATAEA
0 1 2 3 km
HEIGHTS IN METRES
THEBES
SKOLOS (?)
R. Asopus
R. Asopus
Pyrgos hill
Asopus ridge
R. Moloeis (?)
Ayios Ioannis
Retsi spring
Shrine of Androkates (?)
Ayios Demetrios
R. Oeroe
ERYTHRAE (?)
Dharimari
the island
Pantanassa
HYSIAE (?)
PLATAEA
Kriekouki
Mt. Cithaeron
Gyphtokastro pass
300
500
700
800
1026
1404
1409
1358

Map 1

come to terms.[108] Yet H.'s attribution of motive, even if embroidered as part of his literary portrait of Mardonius, makes strategic sense. A decisive Persian victory might well have guaranteed the dissolution of the Hellenic League. On the other hand, the longer Mardonius waited in Boeotia or Thessaly without a clear victory, the more precarious his position became. He had to rely on the medising Greeks for supplies, and their loyalty could not be counted on indefinitely. He may also have been concerned to forestall any action by the Hellenic fleet in the eastern Aegean. Mardonius' impatience thus makes both literary sense (supporting H.'s characterisation of him as a firebrand)[109] and military sense (constituting an appropriate strategy).

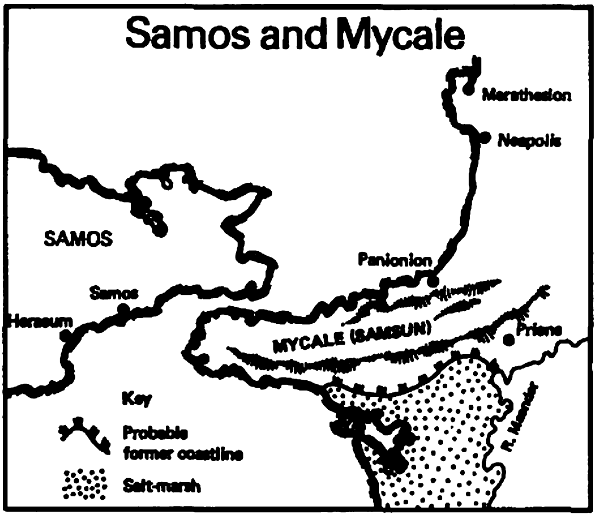
Finally, since the Greeks had a shortage of both food and water, and suffered from the continual harassment of the Persian cavalry, Pausanias determined to change positions during the night of the twelfth day. This complicated movement went awry, and at dawn the Spartans and Tegeans found themselves isolated from the rest of the Greek army and under imminent attack by Mardonius and his Persians. The Persians formed a shield wall and pummelled the Spartans with arrows, while Pausanias waited for the pre-battle sacrifices to prove favourable for attack. Once this had happened, the Spartans and Tegeans advanced against the Persians. After a fierce struggle, Mardonius and his elite troops were slain, and the rest of the barbarian army fled. Meanwhile, the Athenian contingent defeated the medising Thebans; the other Greek allies, who had disobeyed Pausanias' orders, missed the battle entirely. The fleeing barbarians took refuge within their camp, which had been fortified by a wooden stockade, and were there butchered almost to a man by the Spartans, Tegeans, and Athenians.

Many modern scholars have found H.'s version unacceptable. Instead, they posit that Pausanias had deliberately lured Mardonius into an ambush and that the other Greek contingents were actually following his instructions, thus turning the desperate confusion of H.'s narrative into one of the most brilliant tactical manoeuvres of all time.[110] It is extremely unlikely that this alternative scenario is correct, for it has neither any ancient testimony nor the slightest degree of plausibility to support it.[111] Indeed, the tactical and logistical problems involved in coordinating a feigned retreat

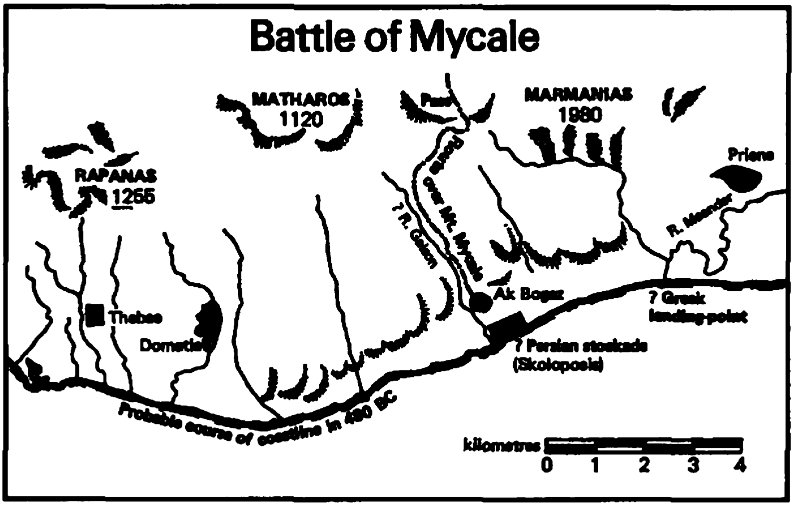
108 Lazenby 217–19, 221–2. 109 On this characterisation see above §3.

110 E.g. Wright 1904: 116–18; Burn 532–6; Green 262–5; Wallace 1982; *CAH* IV². 606.

111 See Pritchett 1985 and Lazenby 237–8.


Samos and Mycale
Marathesion
Neapolis
SAMOS
Panionion
Samos
Heraeum
MYCALE (SAMSUN)
Priene
Key
Probable former coastline
Salt-marsh

Map 2


Battle of Mycale
MATHAROS
1120
Pass
MARMANIAS
1980
RAPANAS
Priene
Route over Mt. Mycale
Thebes
Ak Bogaz
? Greek landing-point
? Persian stockade (Skolopoeis)
Probable course of coastline in 480 BC
kilometres
0 1 2 3 4

Map 3

by the largest Greek army ever mustered, over broken ground through such an extensive area, would have been enormous even for an army with modern communications equipment. H. has in fact provided us with a sufficient explanation for the Greek victory: it was due to the impatience of Mardonius and to the superior equipment and training of the Spartan hoplite. The victory may have belonged to Pausanias, in the sense that he was the supreme commander, but he was by no means personally responsible for it. As a young adult in his mid-twenties, with no previous experience commanding troops in the field, he seems to have been barely in control of the situation. Nor is there any reason to assume that his eventual disgrace adversely affected the memory of his supposed tactical contribution at Plataea.[112] H. had access to a tradition which was far from hostile,[113] and if Pausanias' generalship had contributed in some decisive way to the Greek victory at Plataea, there is no reason to think that H. would have concealed this fact.

The battle of Mycale on the coast of Asia Minor occurred, according to H., in the afternoon of the same day as the morning engagement at Plataea. While the Greek army was encamped at Plataea, the Hellenic fleet, under the command of the Spartan King Leotychidas, sailed from Aegina to Samos, where the Persian fleet was based. The Persian high command then retreated to the coast, which was protected by the Persian land army guarding Ionia, and they beached their ships behind a palisade. Leotychidas made a landing near the enemy position and in a pitched infantry battle annihilated the Persian army and burned the Persian fleet.

H. tells us that a god-sent rumour informed the Greeks at Mycale of the victory at Plataea just as they were about to attack. Apparently realising the impossibility of this, Ephorus rationalised the rumour as an invention of Leotychidas, but neither he nor any other ancient source questioned the synchronism of the two battles. Some moderns have put Mycale several weeks later than Plataea;[114] yet whether or not one wishes to believe that the battles occurred on the very same day, such a radical revision of the chronology is unnecessary. Other details, however, arouse suspicion since the fighting at Mycale seems to mirror that at Plataea very closely: only one wing, this time the Athenian wing, fully engaged the enemy; there was a struggle at the Persian shield wall; and the battle concluded with a

112 So *CAH* IV^2. 599; for Pausanias' later career, see above, §3.
113 See above, pp. 13–14.
114 So, e.g., Busolt 1895, II. 725 n. 4, 742 n. 2; HW 331; *ATL* III. 187.

fight in the Persian camp. Although the parallelism with Plataea may be coincidental (perhaps it was standard Persian practice to set up a shield wall and only natural when defeated to flee to a fortified position), the narrative gives the Spartans and Athenians equal and parallel achievements which occurred on the very same day.[115] With Plataea and Mycale, the great invasion of Xerxes came to its ignominious close.[116]

(c) The battle of Plataea in the Greek imagination

According to H. (64.1), Pausanias 'won the fairest victory of all those we know'. He makes that claim despite his earlier contention at 7.139.5 that 'if someone should say that the Athenians were the saviours of Greece, he would not be in error of the truth ... next to the gods they repulsed the king.' H. was probably correct in his appraisal of the importance of Plataea, even if he wished to give pride of place to the Athenian decision to remain loyal to the Greek cause. For if Mardonius had won that battle, he would have been in a strong position to become the satrap of Greece (7.6.1), and under Persian suzerainty Greek civilisation undoubtedly would have taken a far different direction.[117] Be that as it may, the battle of Plataea, both in antiquity and in modern times, has been less celebrated than Marathon, Thermopylae, or Salamis. The reason is not far to seek. Plataea, the decisive battle of the greatest war in Greek history, was pre-eminently a Spartan victory. The Spartans, albeit with the Tegeans at their side, defeated the Persians, while the Athenians defeated the Thebans. That this was how the battle was perceived by contemporaries may be deduced from the paintings that decorated the temple of Athena Areia at Plataea. Plutarch claims that after the battle, the Athenians and Spartans took out 80 talents of the booty for the Plataeans, from which they built (or perhaps 'rebuilt' – the text is uncertain) this temple and decorated it with paintings

115 If that was the intention, it apparently failed, for Mycale does not find a single mention in any of the Athenian orators, despite their many references to the glorious victories of the Persian Wars. Perhaps this was because the supreme command was held by a Spartan king in what was nominally a sea-battle, an arena in which the Athenians particularly prided themselves.

116 H., however, chose to end his story with the capture of Sestos by the Athenians because of its thematic and literary appropriateness: see 118–21 n.

117 Whether this would have been for good or ill is at least open to question: one should eschew the triumphalist Eurocentric tone found in so many older studies of the Persian invasions (e.g. Burn 565–7; Green 4–5, 286–7).

(*Arist.* 20.1–3), one of which Pausanias says was a depiction by Polygnotus of Odysseus having just slain the suitors, while another by Onasias featured the expedition of Adrastus and the Argives against Thebes (9.4.1–2). These scenes are an appropriate and highly dramatic mythic analogue for the struggle of the Athenians against the medising Thebans at Plataea: the suitors represent the Thebans; and, according to the Athenian version of the Argive expedition against Thebes, the Athenians intervened in order to provide proper burial for the Argive dead. It has been plausibly inferred that these paintings were commissioned under Athenian influence and glorified the Athenian role in the battle.[118]

Salamis, on the other hand, has always taken pride of place in ancient and modern writing on the Persian invasions as being the engagement that saved Greece.[119] This is partly due to the high esteem in which Athens has historically been held, and the generally lower estimation of Sparta. Furthermore, Xerxes' departure after Salamis created the false impression that he had fled in panic at his defeat.[120] The actual situation may have been much different. Xerxes may well have thought that although Salamis was a setback, Mardonius was quite capable of completing the conquest of Greece with the land forces. If Salamis had been as devastating a defeat as the Athenians later claimed, Xerxes probably would not have left his best troops, and possibly the bulk of his land forces, behind.

The undisputed fact that the Spartans were primarily responsible for the decisive victory at Plataea explains why certain episodes in H.'s narrative have been elaborated (possibly even invented) to enhance the Athenians' contribution: e.g., their slaying of Masistius in a preliminary cavalry battle (20–24), their successful dispute with the Tegeans over the command of the left wing (26–28.1), and the foiled Spartan attempt to exchange wings with them (46–47). Otherwise, the secondary Athenian role was an embarrassment, best to be either downplayed or ignored. Aristophanes chooses Artemisium and Thermopylae as examples of Spartan-Athenian cooperation (*Lys.* 1247–65), an odd choice since Thermopylae was a defeat,

118 See Castriota 1992: 63–76.

119 See esp. Thuc. 1.73–4; Isoc. *Paneg.* 98; Pl. *Laws* 707. For the predominance of the Athenian view in all later accounts, see Starr 1962.

120 Cf. Thuc. 1.73.5 (the Athenian ambassadors at Sparta): 'For when the barbarian was defeated with his ships, presumably realising that his power was no longer what it had been, he quickly withdrew with the greater part of his army'. On Xerxes' 'flight' see 1 n.

whereas Plataea (which Aristophanes ignores) confirmed Sparta's claim to the leadership of Greece. Plato curtly dismisses the importance of Plataea in comparison with Marathon, Artemisium, and Salamis (*Menex.* 241 c), but elsewhere ranks Marathon and Plataea above Salamis in 'saving Greece', in opposition to 'what the majority of both Greeks and barbarians say'.[121] Aeschylus, while crediting the victory of Plataea to 'the Doric spear', nevertheless treats it as a minor appendage to Salamis (*Pers.* 800–31). Most Athenian writers were clearly uninterested in the truth. The most explicit exception appears in the *Funeral Oration* of Lysias, who says that the Spartans and Tegeans defeated the Persians, while the Athenians and Plataeans defeated the Thebans, in the crowning victory of the Persian Wars (46–48). Although Lysias was a resident alien, his admission is especially remarkable given that the speech commemorated men who had fallen during the Corinthian War (394–387), when Athens and Sparta were once again fighting each other.

Finally, the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis may have depicted the battle of Plataea on its north frieze, with Marathon depicted on the south frieze. This would be the only known representation of Plataea in Greek art. Yet the frieze depicts the Athenians fighting not Persians but Thebans, at least one of whom is on horseback. Plataea would thus be celebrated as a victory over fellow Greeks, not barbarians. This emphasis may be explained by the fact that the Nike temple was decorated during the Peloponnesian War, at a time when Athens and Thebes were bitter enemies.[122] Anti-Theban feeling also explains why around 340 the Athenians dedicated golden shields in the new temple of Apollo at Delphi with the inscription, 'The Athenians, from the Medes and Thebans when they fought against the Greeks'.[123]

The Athenian viewpoint, however, was not the only one. H. begins his estimation of the Athenian role in repulsing the invasion of Xerxes by saying that he 'is forced by necessity' to give an opinion that most Greeks

121 Pl. *Laws* 707, but he is stressing the negative aspects of sea-power on the character of a community.

122 See Harrison 1972; retracted 1997, arguing instead that the north frieze depicts the capture of Eurystheus. Mark 1993: 87–92 dates the carving of the friezes to *c.* 420–418 (technically a time of peace, although the Boeotians and Athenians were at odds: cf. Thuc. 5.17).

123 Aeschines *In Ctes.* 116. These may have been made in the fourth century as anti-Theban propaganda.

will dislike (7.139.1). H. was writing when Sparta had declared war on Athens with the avowed aim of freeing the Greeks from the heavy hand of Athenian rule, and many Greeks must have long resented the way that Athens was claiming justification for her empire on the basis of her role against Persia. But an additional reason for H.'s hesitation may have been that the consensus in his time was that the *Spartans*, not the Athenians, had saved Greece in the Persian Wars. Pindar, to be sure, divides the credit for the defeat of Persia between Athens and Sparta.[124] Nonetheless, if we knew as much about post-war Spartan propaganda as we do about Athenian, we might be surprised at how little emphasis they gave to Salamis.[125]

(d) *Sources later than Herodotus*

On several occasions in the *Histories* H. refers to information which he knows but does not record.[126] Indeed, he must have heard a great deal about the events of 480–479 which he chose, for a variety of reasons, not to relate, and this naturally raises the question whether it is possible to supplement or correct H.'s version of events from other (later) sources. Indeed, this presents one of the main challenges in the study of the Persian Wars.

Unfortunately, in the case of Book 9 at least, it seems that later sources add extremely little reliable information to what we find in H. What is meant here by 'reliable' is not 'true', but 'contemporary', i.e., a tradition that dates from the period of the Persian Wars, or at least from the fifth century. (Whether any particular contemporary tradition is also historically true or not is a different question.) As stated above, some historians adopt the method of combining all extant sources into one complex whole, thereby constructing a modern fiction which rests on no ancient authority.[127] It is sometimes clear that later sources merely rework a passage of H. and in

124 Cf. *Pyth.* 1.75–80: 'I shall earn from Salamis the Athenians' gratitude as my reward, and at Sparta I shall tell of the battle before Cithaeron, in which conflicts the curve-bowed Medes suffered defeat'.

125 Similarly, if we had only American and British accounts of the Second World War, we might not know that the Russians, with considerable justification, claim the credit for the defeat of Nazi Germany. Like Salamis, the D-Day invasion of Normandy was important, but not decisive: it was the disaster on the Russian front which lost Germany the war.

126 See, e.g., 1.51, 95; 2.3, 65, 123; 4.43; 5.72; 7.224; 7.226; 9.43.2.

127 This approach is well criticised by Lazenby 15–16.

the process add details of their own invention. On other occasions they record incidents which either contradict H. or are not mentioned by him at all. Such passages are almost always the inventions of fourth-century and Hellenistic writers who were eager to elaborate the old story with new details.

The later source which might be expected to tell us the most is actually the one which is most disappointing. Ctesias of Cnidus, a Greek doctor at the court of the Persian king Artaxerxes II, wrote near the beginning of the fourth century a history of Persia (*Persica*) in 23 books, known primarily through the much later synopsis of Photius. Ctesias ridiculed H.'s accuracy and cited Persian oral tradition and royal records in support of his own reliability.[128] Nonetheless, what he says about the Persian Wars, and especially about the Plataea campaign, is completely worthless: he places Plataea before Salamis, assigns Pausanias an army of 300 Spartiates and 1,000 perioeci, and has a wounded Mardonius escape the battle only to be killed later in a hail-storm at Delphi.[129]

Diodorus' account (written in the first century BC) is both fairly detailed and greatly at odds with what one finds in H. It is generally agreed that his immediate source for the Persian Wars was Ephorus of Cyme, the fourth-century author of a Universal History in 30 books.[130] Although Diodorus rewrote his sources in his own style,[131] he often reproduced Ephorus very closely.[132] Diodorus has been called 'a mere epitomizer and an incompetent one at that', and although that characterisation has been challenged, it seems accurate enough.[133] Most modern scholars regard Ephorus also as a

128 *FGrHist* 688 T 8 (= Phot. *Bibl.* 72, 36a) and F 5 (= Diod. 2.32.4). His reliability as a source of authentic information is succinctly demolished by Burn 11–12 and more fully by Bigwood 1978.

129 *FGrHist* 688 F 13.28–9.

130 See Hornblower 1994: 36–8; Flower 1998: 365; Stylianou 1998: 49–50. Ephorus' history covered events from the return of the Heracleidae in 1069 BC to the siege of Perinthus by Philip of Macedon in 341 BC.

131 This was demonstrated by Palm 1955. Sacks 1990, however, goes too far in promoting Diod. as an original thinker; see Stylianou 1991; Fornara 1992.

132 Compare Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 191 (papyrus fragments) with Diod. 11.56–62. Ephorus F 191 is either Ephorus undiluted or an epitome of Ephorus.

133 Stylianou 1998: 49; see 132–9 for a detailed exposition: 'No less instructive, and indeed this is a characteristic trait of Diod., is his tendency to muddle even moderately complicated accounts in his sources' (p. 133).

thoroughly second-rate historian,[134] but that may be too harsh a judgement, given that his work has not survived to be judged on its own merits; yet novel elements in Diodorus' account of Plataea and Mycale are unconvincing and smack of Diodoran muddle combined with Ephoran free invention.[135]

Plutarch, writing early in the second century AD, some five hundred years after the Persian Wars, gives the fullest account of Plataea after H. In *On the Malice of Herodotus*[136] he disputes H.'s claim that only the Spartans, Tegeans, and Athenians actually engaged the enemy during the pitched battle, citing Simonides as evidence that the Corinthians played a significant role. More important is Plutarch's *Life of Aristides*. Although principally based on H., it contains much information not found elsewhere. Its most striking feature is that actions and speeches that in H. are referred generally to the Athenians are consistently attributed to Aristides personally.[137] In such cases it looks as if Plutarch himself rewrote H.'s version. As a biographer, not a historian, Plutarch did not feel that he was falsifying the historical record by assuming a greater personal role for Aristides on the basis of H.'s narrative.[138]

More difficult to assess are incidents not found in H. at all. Some of these, if true, would profoundly affect both our estimate of H. as a historian and our understanding of the Plataea campaign itself. Chief among them are the oracle (delivered to Aristides before the battle) that the Athenians would defeat their enemies if they fought in their own territory on the plain of Eleusinian Demeter and Kore (*Arist.* 11); the conspiracy of wealthy Athenians to overthrow the democracy, which Aristides defused (13); the failure of Pausanias to give the signal for battle to the Greek allies (17.5); the near confrontation between Athens and Sparta, which Aristides averted, over the awarding of the prize for valour (20); and finally, the decree of Aristides in the general assembly of the Greeks (the so-called 'Covenant of

134 Recent treatments of Ephorus' historical method are Stylianou 1998: 49–139, esp. 124–8; Flower 1998.

135 See 102–5n., 106n.

136 The purpose of this essay is to convict H. of pro-barbarian and anti-Greek sentiments: for a full treatment see Bowen 1992.

137 In fact, in the whole of Book 9 Aristides is mentioned only once (28.6) and then simply as the general in command of the Athenian army (as Macan II 86 observed; cf. Hignett 21).

138 His version (*Arist.* 15) of the night-time mission of Alexander of Macedon to the Athenian camp is an excellent example of his method, since it has every appearance of being a direct adaptation of H. without an intermediary source: see 44–45 nn.

Plataea') to establish the Eleutheria festival and games at Plataea, to levy a standing Hellenic army for future operations against the barbarian, and to set aside the Plataeans as sacred and inviolable (21).

This constitutes an amazing array of important information that H. does not even allude to. Can any of it be true? Plutarch does not cite a source for these particular stories, but they surely derive from post-fifth-century writers.[139] Indeed, although Plutarch names several sources in this *Life*, none of them except H. date from the fifth century. A good candidate for much of this later invention is Idomeneus of Lampsacus, whom Plutarch cites elsewhere three times in the *Aristides*. Idomeneus (c. 325–270) wrote a work *On the Athenian Popular Leaders* (*FGrHist* 338 FF 1–15) in which he used scandalous anecdotes, both public and private, in order to malign their characters. These anecdotes were largely invented, as was the custom in Hellenistic biography.[140] The one hero of the work was Aristides,[141] whose honesty was a convenient foil to the deviousness of Themistocles. It is a reasonable guess that either Idomeneus or another writer of similar inclinations is the ultimate source for otherwise unattested incidents which highlight Aristides' exemplary conduct and character. It is indeed striking that of the Plutarch passages mentioned above, only one (the claim, in passing, that Pausanias forgot to give the signal to his Greek allies) does not involve the felicitous intervention of Aristides at a critical moment.

There are a few items of interest in other sources. Pausanias, who wrote a description of Greece in the second century AD, describes monuments no longer extant, such as the temple of Athena Areia at Plataea and the Stoa Poikile at Athens.[142] We can believe that he saw what he describes, but it does not necessarily follow that his interpretations of what he saw are correct; for instance, his description of the tombs at Plataea cannot be used to correct H. (85n.). Moreover, most of the new narrative material that he reports about the Persian Wars, such as the rock at Pegae with Persian arrows stuck in it, is merely the embroidered oral tradition of later generations.[143]

139 Hignett 418–21 is excellent on the inadequacies of Plut.'s account, and in particular demolishes the story of the oracle. Brunt 1993: 69–74 persuasively argues that Plut.'s 'Covenant of Plataea' is worthless.

140 See Flower 1994: 48–9; Bollansée 1999.

141 So Jacoby, *FGrHist* Commentary, IIIb.1.84–5, and Angeli 1981: 12. *Contra*, Cooper 1997: 459.

142 On Paus.'s methods see Habicht 1985 and Arafat 1996: 1–79.

143 See 14n.; cf. 21.3n. and 22.2n. on the death of Masistes.

Thucydides tells us in passing two things of real importance concerning the immediate aftermath of the battle. He has Plataean ambassadors declare to the Spartan king Archidamus (2.71.2–4) that after the battle, Pausanias, 'having sacrificed to Zeus Eleutherios in the Plataean *agora* and having summoned all of the allies, conceded to the Plataeans that they were to inhabit their territory and city, to possess it as independent people, and that no one was ever to make an expedition against them unjustly nor try to enslave them. But if anyone should try, all of the allies were to defend them in force.'[144] Perhaps this act of Pausanias is the historical core upon which Plutarch's source has grafted the fictitious decree (the 'Covenant of Plataea' mentioned above) ascribed to Aristides. The annual tomb cult paid by the Plataeans to the allied dead is described in considerable detail by Plutarch as it existed in his own day, and we know from Thucydides (3.58.4–5) that this cult dates from the fifth century. Whether Plutarch is also correct in dating the establishment of the panhellenic Eleutheria festival and games to the immediate aftermath of the battle is far less certain. This quadrennial festival was an important institution in Hellenistic times, but a strong case has been made that it was established at Plataea only in the late fourth century BC.[145]

For those seeking additional historical information outside of H., the picture drawn here may seem overly conservative, or even bleak. In fact, the independence of H. from later accounts of Plataea and Mycale makes it easier both to approach and to appreciate Book 9 on its own terms.[146]

6. THEMES

Book 9 forms the climax and the conclusion to H.'s *Histories*. It was not, of course, meant to be read in isolation, especially as it brings together some

144 See Brunt 1993: 69–72 and Badian 1993a, but with the qualifications of Hornblower, *CT* I. 357–58.

145 See Raaflaub 1985: 126–27; Schachter 1994: 125–34, who point out that there is no literary or epigraphical evidence for the Eleutheria before the third century. Diod. (11.29.1) places the decision to establish the festival while the Greeks were assembled at the Isthmus. According to Plut. (*Arist.* 19.7; 21.2), the quadrennial Eleutheria and the annual cult of the Plataean dead were held in different months; this shows that they were completely separate and unrelated activities (see Meuli 1968: 62–3; Schachter 1994: 129, 137–8).

146 One item stands in a category of its own: the Oath of Plataea, which later sources claim that the Greek allies swore before the battle (see App. C for text and discussion), but which is probably a later invention.

of the major themes that have appeared from the very beginning of the work.

(a) Retribution

H.'s work is permeated with the notion that one wrong or injury always calls forward some retributive act.[147] The work begins with the Phoenicians seizing Io, and this sets in motion a series of acts in which European men abduct women from Asia, and men from Asia abduct European women (1.1–5). Even the defining event of early Greek history, the Trojan War, is seen in this frame, since Paris' abduction of Helen is placed in this context of mutual abductions. Even when H. moves on to more 'historical' actions, the desire for retribution motivates great and small alike, both individuals and states.[148]

Persian imperialism by its very nature involves transgression, thus inviting retribution. Yet H. fixes as the significant moment for the conflict between Greece and Persia the participation by the Athenians in the Ionian revolt.[149] When the Ionians take Sardis and burn the sanctuary of Cybebe there,[150] Darius asks God to grant him to punish the Athenians (5.105). Yet whatever divine favour the Persians may have had from being in the right was quickly lost when they themselves came to Greece, sacked Athens, and destroyed the temples on the Acropolis. This action, in turn, is used by the Athenians as their justification for opposing the Persians, and they claim to seek vengeance for their gods (8.143).[151] In Book 9, the Persians suffer the final retribution due them for their outrages, as H. makes clear in his remark that Plataea was the 'fairest victory of all those we know', for he links this specifically with justice (δίκη) exacted for the murder of Leonidas at Thermopylae (64.1 with n.). So Plataea, and to a lesser extent, Mycale, are portrayed as the closing of one cycle of retribution. The other retributive act concerns the Athenian assault on Sestos, and specifically their treatment of the Persian governor Artaÿctes (116–121), which forms a

147 On this theme in H. see esp. Gould 1989: 42–5, 63–4, 82–5.

148 For the extension of this notion even to the natural world see 3.109.

149 The Athenian and Eretrian ships sent to Ionia are 'the beginning of evils' (5.97.3), an echo of *Il.* 5.62–3.

150 At 5.102.1 H. says only that the sanctuary of Cybebe was burned, but in his speech at 7.8β.3, Xerxes claims that Aristagoras and the Athenians burned 'the groves and the sanctuaries' (τά τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά) in Sardis. Cf. below, n. 185.

151 On the important difference between Persian and Greek actions here, see below, §(c).

fitting ring-composition with the opening of the *Histories*. Artaÿctes' crime was to despoil the shrine of Protesilaus, a hero who had been the first man both to land and to be killed on Asian soil during the Trojan War. In a more 'historical' frame, the retribution exacted on Artaÿctes brings the wheel full circle from the attack of Croesus on the Greeks of Ionia.[152] The punishment of Artaÿctes and his men parallels the destruction of the Persian forces that had marched against Greece.

(b) *Greeks and non-Greeks*

The preface of the *Histories* announces its subject as the 'great and marvellous deeds' of both Greeks and non-Greeks, and states as its special aim the discovery of the reason why they fought each other (δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλους), thus emphasising at the outset the conflict between the two sides. The Persian/Greek conflict revolves around two complementary antitheses: freedom and slavery, and wealth and poverty. The first is most fully developed in speeches and battle narratives. As Demaratus characterises the Spartans to Xerxes, they are free men who are yet 'ruled' by their custom of showing absolute bravery in battle, where their only alternatives are to conquer or die. Xerxes fails to understand how they can behave this way without the compulsion of a monarch, a palpable example of the vast gap between his and the Greeks' way of life (7.101–104). Yet Demaratus' words prove true at the battle of Thermopylae where the Spartans fight to the death against the Persians and their allies, the latter of whom are forced on by the lashing of the whip (7.233). Similarly, H. praises the Athenians as those who became great once they had thrown off the yoke of their tyrants, because they henceforth behaved as free men (5.78). Miltiades before Marathon says that the stakes are nothing less than freedom and slavery, and he urges the polemarch Callimachus to 'leave behind you for all of human time a memorial more glorious than did even Harmodius and Aristogeiton' (6.109.3).

The Persian/Greek distinction appears early in Book 9 in the curious incident involving the Phocians. The Phocians have joined the Persian side, but Mardonius suspects their loyalty, and orders them to array themselves apart from the others. When he then sends the Persian cavalry to surround the Phocians, the Phocian leader Harmocydes orders his men to face the

152 See 116–120n.

enemy with a worthy spirit: 'Let them know that being barbarians, they contrived death for men who are Greeks' (17.4). Though no battle is actually fought, the Phocian resistance anticipates the similar and subsequent Greek display of bravery at Plataea and Mycale. For even though the battle of Plataea begins with a surprise attack by the Persians, H. still allows Pausanias a pre-battle exhortation, in which he characterises the struggle as 'whether Greece will be free or enslaved' (60.1). So too before Mycale, Hegesistratus of Samos urges the generals of the Greek fleet to 'deliver men who are Greeks from slavery, and to ward off the barbarian' (90.2). The contrast is made most pointedly in Pausanias' behaviour after the victory, in particular his refusal to dishonour the corpse of Mardonius. Such actions, he says, are 'more fitting for barbarians than Greeks – and even to them we begrudge it' (79.1 with n.).

Wealth and poverty are also a part of this dichotomy. There had been earlier references to Greek poverty and the effect it had on Greek character: Tritantaechmes expresses surprise and alarm when he learns that the Greeks in their athletic contests compete for a wreath, not for money (8.26), and Demaratus explains to Xerxes how poverty has always been indigenous in Greece (πενίη ... σύντροφος, 7.102.1): for Demaratus poverty and freedom go hand in hand. In Book 9 one incident in particular reinforces this theme. After the battle of Plataea, Pausanias orders a Spartan and a Persian dinner to be prepared, and when he has gathered the Greek leaders there to see both, he ridicules Mardonius for his folly, because, when he has so splendid a way of life in his own country, he has come to attack a Greece that lives in poverty (82.3).

That said, it must be noted that several incidents in Book 9 in particular undermine such a clear separation.[153] The first is the remarkable speech by an unnamed Persian at the feast given by Attaginus at Thebes (15–16), which contains many Greek – indeed Herodotean – thoughts that make the two peoples here seem more similar than dissimilar.[154] Just as importantly, H. portrays the Persians as brave fighters, not cowards, and he explains their defeat at Plataea in terms of their lack of proper armour and their absence of hoplite training (62.3). Similarly at Mycale, the Persians put up a staunch fight for a long time, giving in only when they are overwhelmed.

153 See especially Pelling 1997a.

154 Cf. Xerxes' tears for the brevity of life (7.45–46), a theme echoed elsewhere by Greeks; and on the phenomenon of Greek sentiments in the mouths of foreigners, see Fehling 1989: 193–4.

In each case the Persians (unlike their allies) fight to the bitter end: there is no sense here that luxury or 'softness' contributed to their defeat. Indeed, Cyrus's advice to the Persians not to move to a 'soft' land and thereby lose the characteristics of good soldiers (122) can be seen as confirmatory of this interpretation, since the Persians do in fact follow his warning and choose to dwell in a rough land rather than a fertile one. So it is no surprise that the Persians are portrayed as stout fighters and worthy opponents of the Greeks.

The Persian/Greek dichotomy may also be breaking down at the end of the *Histories* in the Athenian attack on the Chersonese (114–120). When the Athenians are at last successful, they capture the Persian governor Artaÿctes and his son; the son is then stoned to death before his father's eyes, and Artaÿctes himself is crucified, a punishment that, as far as the *Histories* are concerned, is one characteristic of barbarians. In their incipient imperialism and their 'barbarian' retribution, the Athenians at the end seem to be beginning a new cycle of history, one that will see Athens within the next decades assume hegemony (often ruthlessly maintained) over the other Greek states, some of whom had been liberated by her from Persian suzerainty. The closure of the work, therefore, operates on two levels, ending one story while taking heed of a new one that is beginning, and one that will in significant ways resemble the story just told.

H., then, is well aware of a Greek/barbarian dichotomy, but it is not absolute, its extent is not uniform, and its separateness is not without permeability. The Persians clearly *are* a wealthy people ruled by a despot, but they are not papier-mâché enemies, mere props to emphasise Greek valour and excellence by comparison. As with his portrayal of individuals, H.'s portrayal of peoples is nuanced and complex. Persians sometimes appear not so different from Greeks and vice-versa. By such a technique, H. looks beyond surface (though real) differences to the more universal aspects of conquest and empire.

(c) *Divine and human*

H.'s subject is τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, that which has happened through human agency. Although he does not, like Homer, portray the gods as taking part directly in the action, the divine is nevertheless present everywhere in H.[155] One sees this in a variety of ways, the most prominent

155 See the full treatment of Harrison 2000.

of which is the reporting and interpreting of oracles, through which the gods make known their intentions, or inform humans of their future. There is often an enormous gap between divine understanding and human ignorance, and humans must try to interpret these signs. Perhaps not surprisingly, the places where this theme appears in Book 9 are in the stories of the seers Teisamenus and Euenius. In the former (33–35), Teisamenus is told that he will win 'the five greatest contests', and he mistakenly thinks that this means in athletics; the Spartans, however, realise that the god means contests of war, and they acquiesce in Teisamenus' enormous demands, simply to have him as their seer. The story of Euenius (93–94) is more enigmatic, for in this one the townspeople of Apollonia punish Euenius for failing to guard the sacred sheep, thinking that they are respecting the god by so doing. In fact, the Apolloniates are informed by oracles that the gods themselves wished the sheep to be attacked, and that they will continue to suffer until they make restitution to Euenius. Such a story emphasises the inscrutability of the gods, and the inability of human beings to understand (except later and in retrospect) much of what happens.

Retribution, mentioned above, is often closely connected with the divine, as in the mutual desecration of temples. Yet the Greek burning of the sanctuary of Cybebe in Sardis was an accident and occurred because a fire spread from another location: H. is clear that vengeance for this was a pretext used by the Persians for their own attack on Greek sanctuaries.[156] This important distinction gives greater moral weight to the Greeks, and it is clear throughout the latter books that they are the defenders of the gods. After the destruction of the Persian fleet at Salamis, Themistocles says that the Greeks themselves were not responsible, 'but the gods and the heroes, who were jealous that one man, who was impious and wicked, should be king of Asia and of Europe too', he notes that Xerxes 'treated equally things sacred and profane', and that he 'burned and threw down the statues of the gods' (8.109.3).[157] His words are echoed in Book 9 by the suppliant woman of Cos, who calls the Persians 'men who reverence neither gods nor divinities' (76.2).

The gods and heroes, moreover, are portrayed as actively (if somewhat mysteriously) involved in the battles themselves, usually by miraculous occurrences. At Marathon, the Athenian Epizelus is said to have lost his sight

156 See esp 5 102 1, τὸ [the burning of the sanctuary] σκηπτόμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι ὕστερον ἀντενεπίμπρασαν τὰ ἐν Ἕλλησι ἱρά Cf above, n 78

157 Cf Aesch. *Pers.* 739–51

when he was brushed by a man of enormous size taking part in the fray (6.117.2–3); at Salamis, the Greeks were said to have heard a divine voice that admonished them to cease their flight and turn to attack the enemy (8.84). The Persian attack on Delphi brings forth a host of supernatural incidents, including gigantic hoplites pursuing the Persians, sacred weapons (which it was unlawful for any man to touch) lying on the ground before the temple, and lightning that tears off two mountain peaks that then fall upon and kill many of the Persians (8.37–39). Similar divine occurrences are found in Book 9. H. observes that although the battle of Plataea took place around the temple of Demeter, no Persians were seen to have entered the sacred precinct, and none were discovered to have died therein. With some reluctance, H. expresses his opinion that it was 'the goddess herself', who 'did not let them in, because they had burned her sanctuary at Eleusis' (65.2). Again, before Mycale, in connection with the mysterious wand that appeared on the beach and the rumour of Greek victory that reached the soldiers' ears, H. states his belief that 'the divine aspect of affairs is evident by many proofs' if a rumour reached the Greeks 'so as to strengthen the army much more and make them more eager to undergo danger' (100.2).[158] The final portent in Book 9 reinforces the idea of a divinity overseeing Persian punishment. When dried fish begin to leap about during cooking as if freshly caught, the Persian governor Artaÿctes recognises the sign: 'Protesilaus in Elaeus is revealing to me that... he yet has power from the gods to punish the man who wrongs him' (120.2).

Such manifestations of the divine raise the larger question of H.'s notions of 'necessity' and 'fate' in history.[159] This is a much debated point, and is especially important because of the modern notion that history is made by human agents acting independently. When H. makes such remarks as 'what must come about from the god' (16.4) or 'it was necessary that she and her whole house would fare badly' (109.2), it is reasonable to suppose that he embraces some notion of a predetermined outcome. It has been argued, however, that such remarks are mainly narrative devices that indicate to the reader the ultimate outcome, and serve therefore to highlight the actions being narrated: in this interpretation, the anticipation of the

158 H. notes as well (9.101) the coincidence that both battles were fought beside precincts of Eleusinian Demeter.

159 On fate in H. see Lachenaud 1978: 89–103 (with chart, 95–6, on the various types of expression used to denote fate or necessity); Gould 1989: 63–85; Lateiner 1989: 196–9; Harrison 2000: 223–42.

end 'is retrojected to become "explanation".'[160] In fact, one must make a distinction between passages with a clearly 'divine' overtone, and those without. The unnamed Persian's 'prediction' of the destruction of his army, which he characterises as 'that which must come about from the god' (16.4 with n.) is heavily infused with notions of divine interaction with humanity, and is congruent with the view of the gods' interest in the Persian Wars as seen in the passages just discussed. Similarly, the deceptive dream that appears to Xerxes and Artabanus warns the latter that he must not try to stop that which has to be (7.17.2), and Artabanus acknowledges this as 'some divine impulse' (7.18.3). The storm off Euboea that destroys numerous Persian ships is interpreted by H. as the god attempting to reduce the Persian forces so that they are more equal to those of the Greeks (8.13.2).[161] In short, the entire Persian expedition and the Greek victory are seen as divinely ordained in some way. The working out of this plan is in this respect similar to the fulfilment of the 'will of Zeus' in the *Iliad* (1.5). And just as in Homer, there are two distinct yet complementary levels of causation, the divine and the human.[162]

But just as in the *Iliad*, so here in H. it would be too simplistic to say that since this is the case, *all* the events and actions, all the human responses, are imagined as predetermined. On the contrary, it is clear from H.'s work that human choice and human intelligence play important roles. The Athenians, without knowing the ultimate outcome of the war, choose Themistocles' interpretation of the wooden wall oracle (7.143.3), and – even more significantly – H. makes it clear that whichever side the Athenians chose was the side that would prevail in the war: H. can go so far as to envision here a different ending to the war, with the Peloponnesians making heroic sacrifices in a losing cause.[163] In other words, the presence of the gods in the overall movement of the expedition does not in any way change the fact that the participants needed, at various points, to make choices, to show bravery or cowardice, and to take actions the consequences of which

160 Gould 1989: 76–8; quotation from p. 78.

161 Note, however, H.'s reluctance to ascribe the destructive storm at Artemisium to divine forces, even though the Athenians believe it (7.189).

162 Both in Homer and H. divination provides one means of connecting those levels: for example, the role of Calchas in the *Iliad* is played by Teisamenus at Plataea: see 33–35n.

163 7.139, esp. 139.3, where H. envisions what could have happened, and 139.5, where the Athenians 'choose' (ἑλόμενοι) that Greece shall be free.

they could not foresee: there is no suggestion that these choices and actions were predetermined.[164]

The lack of predetermination is clearly evident in the incident of Xerxes and Artaÿnte (108–109). In this story, just before the narrative moment in which Artaÿnte makes the fateful decision to ask for the robe, H. makes the explanatory remark, 'for it was necessary that she and her whole house would fare badly' (109.2 with n.). This kind of remark is used for several characters in the *Histories*, and serves to highlight a seemingly insignificant or chance event that later proves to be of great consequence.[165] Indeed, in this particular story there is no sense of the divine as present, nor is there any suggestion that outside forces were at work on the woman.[166] No god drives her on; on the contrary, her choice is the result simply of desire. What the phrase 'explains' is how, of all things, she should choose the one that was most destructive to her and her family. This is indeed the storyteller's device, in which the end is retrojected to 'explain' some earlier action, and by which the narrator draws attention to the fateful moment by anticipating the ultimate consequences of her choice.

To sum up, then, the Greek victory in Book 9 is thus portrayed as the final conflict between East and West and the last in a series of retributive acts going back to the Trojan War – but overarching it all was the work of the gods who saw to it that the impious should be punished and the mighty brought low. This does not have the effect of cheapening human action or responsibility; on the contrary, just as the involvement of the gods in Homeric epic heightens the heroism or pathos of the individuals and events (as well as their importance),[167] so too in H. the Greek achievement becomes something truly great and worthy of wonder because the Greeks were the agents through which the gods achieved their purpose. And in a world where the gulf between divine and human was perceived as vast and unbridgeable,[168] the momentary unity of purpose between god and man

164 One might contrast the case of Euenius the nightwatchman (93–94 with nn.), where the gods are fully involved from start to finish, although this is revealed to the Apolloniates only in retrospect. But there the story is told to account for an extraordinary gift – prophecy – that is wholly within the sphere of the gods.

165 See Harrison 2000: 231 with n. 22 for the passages in which such a phrase occurs; cf. Gould 1989: 73–85.

166 *Pace* Harrison 2000: 238.

167 Redfield 1975: 131–6; Griffin 1978.

168 Cf. Pind. *Nem.* 6.1–7.

lent to the Greeks a nobility that, to H., made them equals, if not superiors, to the great heroes of the past.[169]

7. DIALECT

H. wrote in East Ionic, the dialect spoken in Ionia, in the islands of the Aegean colonised by the Ionians, and in a few cities in Sicily.[170] The recovery of H.'s dialect is intimately bound up with the question of the manuscript tradition, for our manuscripts transmit a wide variety of forms, Attic, Ionic, and sometimes even Doric, and are inconsistent in the matters of spelling, contraction, and the like. Some earlier scholars believed that H.'s original manuscript contained a 'pure' Ionic dialect that was later corrupted, first by scribes who Atticised many of the forms, and later by yet other scribes who sought to reintroduce Ionic, or what they thought were Ionic, forms.[171] Modern editors, therefore, have tried to systematise their editions by printing what they thought were 'true' Ionic forms, derived from inscriptional evidence, which was considered pure because it had not been corrupted by copyists over the centuries.[172] Other scholars, however, point to the variety of the readings in the manuscripts, and to the fact that a single manuscript will sometimes have different forms even of the same word, as an indication of how H.'s original manuscript would have looked, at a time before systematisation of language and orthography existed.[173] For them, a 'pure' Ionic text of H. never existed; rather, H. himself created an elaborate literary language 'which never corresponded to any precise form of spoken Greek, but was instead, like the language of Homer's epic, a deliberate blend of modern and archaic', a language 'consciously nobilized by the use of the language and methods of poetry in general and epic in particular'.[174]

Because so many questions are still unanswered, the following list of forms is only an approximation. It is not comprehensive, but designed

169 Cf. Janko 1992: 2: 'precisely by widening the chasm between mortal and immortal, Homer exalts the dignity and responsibility of human beings'.

170 It is also called 'New Ionic' to distinguish it from the 'Old' of Homer and Hesiod. For full treatment of the Greek dialects, Bechtel 1921–4 is still valuable; Ionic is treated in vol. II; cf. also Buck 1955.

171 These re-introduced forms are sometimes called 'false Ionicisms'.

172 See McNeal 1983: 116–18.

173 Rosén 1962, a method followed in his Teubner editions. McNeal 1983: 117–18 points out that even the inscriptional evidence for Ionic is not uniform.

174 McNeal 1983: 119–20.

specifically to help readers of Book 9. In what follows, numbers in parentheses refer to chapter and section of Book 9, and the siglum '≈' means 'is equivalent to the Attic form'. It should be noted that the Attic forms, as a rule, are later than the Ionic.

A. General

1. *Psilosis*. Ionic early on lost its initial aspiration (rough breathing), but modern texts continue to print initial aspirate as 'a venerable absurdity'.[175] Prepositions, either independent or as prefixes of verbs, do not change to aspirated final consonant: κατ' ἡσυχίαν (41.2), ὑπήσειν (4.2, ≈ ὑφήσειν), ἀπιγμένοισι (10.1, ≈ ἀφιγμένοισι), ἀπῆκε (18.1, ≈ ἀφῆκε), ἀπίεσαν (61.3, ≈ ἀφίεσαν), μετέντες (62.1, ≈ μεθέντες), ἀπεῖναι (106.2, ≈ ἀφεῖναι < ἀφίημι); cf. ἠώς (56.1, ≈ ἕως). Aspiration is found in certain compounds, which were no longer felt to be compounds; the aspirate is also kept in some non-Ionic place names (Ἀφεταί), and 'technical' terms from other dialects (ἔφοροι).
2. *Elision and crasis*. Elision is comparatively rare in Ionic and inconsistently found in H.'s MSS (cf. 18.2, οὔτε εἰ . . . οὔτ' εἰ). Most often elided are the prepositions, and ἀλλά, ἅμα, γε, δέ, μηδέ, οὐδέ, and τε. Final ν before vowels (ν ἐφελκυστικόν) is not used in H.'s Ionic,[176] nor does οὕτω become οὕτως before a vowel (98). In crasis, Ionic differs from Attic in that the *o*-sound predominates: τὠυτό (17.3), ὠυτοί (27.4, ≈ αὑτοί), ἑωυτῶι (4.2, ≈ ἑαυτῶι / αὑτῶι).

B. Consonants

1. Ionic uses κ for the π of conjunctions, pronouns and adverbs: ὅκου (1), ὅκως (2.1), οὔκω (8.2), ὁκοῖον (13.1), κοτε (26.2) ≈ (respectively) ὅπου, ὅπως, οὔπω, ὁποῖον, ποτε.
2. -σσ- does not change into -ττ-: ἐτάσσοντο (25.1, ≈ ἐτάττοντο), πρήσσει (108.1, ≈ πράττει).
3. γίνομαι and γινώσκω are found for Attic γίγνομαι and γιγνώσκω.
4. In some cases, aspirated and unaspirated consonants exchange places: ἐνθαῦτα or ἐνθεῦτεν (2.3, 11.2, ≈ ἐνταῦθα or ἐντεῦθεν).

175 The phrase is J. E. Powell's, used in his edition of Book 8.
176 It does occur, however, in some manuscripts, and is present in Homeric epic.

C. *Vowels and diphthongs*

1. The most characteristic feature of Ionic, and the major difference in its vowels, is *etacism*, the appearance of η for ᾱ even after ε, ι, and ρ: πρῆγμα (26.3, ≈ πρᾶγμα), πρήσσει (108.1, ≈ πράττει), χώρη (4.2 et al.), διηκόσιοι (28.4).
2. Before the liquids λ, μ, ν, and ρ, ε appears as ει, ο as ου: ξείνων (9.1, ≈ ξένων), εἵνεκα (4.2, ≈ ἕνεκα), μουνομαχῆσαι (26.3, ≈ μονομαχῆσαι).
3. In other cases, ε appears where Attic has ει: ὀξέα (23.1, ≈ ὀξεία), μέζου (37.2, ≈ μείζου), ἐπιτήδεος (≈ ἐπιτήδειος).[177]
4. In some forms short α is found for Attic ε: τάμνων (89.4 ≈ τέμνων), ἔταμον (26.4, ≈ ἔτεμον); μέγαθος (≈ μέγεθος).
5. Ionic has ω for the diphthongs αυ and ου: θῶμα (θαῦμα), τρῶμα (τραῦμα), ὦν (οὖν); and in compounds, e.g., τοιγαρῶν.

D. *Nouns and adjectives*

1. First declension: gen. pl. in -έων (≈ -ῶν); dat. pl. in -ῃσι (≈ -αις): ἡμέρῃσι, 17.2; similarly, the fem. dat. pl. definite article (τῇσι, 2.2) and certain adjectives (πολλῇσι, 17.2). Masc. nouns in -ης have the gen. sing. in -εω (≈ -ου): Παυσανίεω (10.2), Ξέρξεω (68).
2. Second declension: dat. pl. in -οισι (≈ -οις): βαρβάροισι, λόγοισι; similarly, the masc. and neut. dat. pl. of the definite article: τοῖσι.
3. Third declension: uncontracted endings are used: βασιλέες (≈ βασιλεῖς), γένεος (≈ γένους). Nouns in -ις (πόλις, etc.) decline like -ι- stems (πόλιος, πόλι, πόλιν; (pl.) πόλιες, πολίων, πόλισι, πόλιας/πολίς): cf. ὑποκρίσιος, καταστάσιος (9.1, gen. sing.), ἐπάλξις (7, acc. pl.). Third-declension adjectives are similarly uncontracted: ἀληθέων (≈ ἀληθῶν). Third-declension adverbs are formed in -έως: ἀληθέως (≈ ἀληθῶς).

E. *Pronouns*

1. Personal pronouns: gen. sing. forms do not contract: ἐμέο or ἐμεῦ, σέο or σεῦ (≈ ἐμοῦ, σοῦ). The gen. and acc. pl. of these pronouns are likewise uncontracted: ἡμέων, ὑμέας, σφέων. οἱ is used for the third person sing. dat., αὐτῶι and αὐτῆι. The acc. form μιν is found for both reflexive and non-reflexive third person

177 But cf. the comparative ἐπιτηδεότερος (2.1), as if the positive were ἐπιτήδειος.

singular (≈ αὐτόν, αὐτήν, αὐτό, ἑαυτόν, ἑαυτήν). Like Homer, H. sometimes uses τοι for σοι (16.2, 78.2). The third person plural of the personal pronoun is σφεῖς, σφέων (6), σφίσι (and σφι), σφέας. The enclitic dat. form, σφι (5.1), is non-reflexive (≈ αὐτοῖς/αὐταῖς), while σφίσι is reflexive (≈ ἑαυτοῖς/ἑαυταῖς).

2. The interrogative and indefinite pronouns have τέο, τεῦ in the gen. sing. (≈ τοῦ/τίνος), and τέωι in the dat. sing. (≈ τῶι/τίνι); likewise τευ, τέο (≈ του/τινος). The gen. pl. is τέων (≈ τίνων) and the dat. pl. τέοισι (≈ τίσι).
3. The relative pronoun in the oblique cases has the same form as the definite article: τά ≈ ἅ (2.2), τοῖς ≈ οἷς, τῶν ≈ ὧν. After prepositions that can elide the final vowel (ἀντί, ἀπό, διά, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, παρά, ὑπό), the Attic forms of the relative are used. The prepositions ἐν, ἐκ, ἐς, πρός and σύν take the consonantal forms of the article, except where ἐν, ἐξ, and ἐς form expressions of time, e.g., ἐν ὧι, ἐς ὅ, or ἐξ οὗ.

F. Verbs

1. The use of temporal augment is inconsistent: most verbs with an initial vowel are augmented, but some are not, and others sometimes are and sometimes not. Verbs with initial diphthong do not augment temporally: παραίνεε (17.4, impf.), nor do ἀρρωδέω (ἀρρωδέομεν, 46.3, impf.), ὁρμέω (ὁρμέατο, 61.1, 102.3, plupf.), and some others.
2. Ionic regularly omits the syllabic augment in (i) plupf. forms; (ii) verbs which have double augmentation: ὥρων (18.2, ≈ ἑώρων), ὧρα (55.1, ≈ ἑώρα); and (iii) frequentative forms: βαλλέσκετο (74.1).
3. Instead of -νται and -ντο Ionic has -αται and -ατο. These forms appear in: (*a*) the perf. and plupf. passive of -ω verbs: ἀπίκατο (17.1),[178] ἀγωνίδαται (26.7), παρεσκευάδατο (97); (*b*) the pres. and impf. middle and pass. of -μι verbs: ἀναπεπτέαται (9.2), κατέατο (90.1), ἐδυνέατο (103.2); and (*c*) all optative middle forms: ἀπικοίατο (27.2). If the tense-stem ends in a long vowel, that vowel is shortened: ὁρμέατο (61.1, 102.3, cf. no. 1, above).

178 This form arose when the perf. pass. verb stem ended in a consonant and the -ν of the pronomial ending produced an awkward-sounding cluster, as e.g. in the form *ἀπίκ-ντο. In this case, an -*a* was sounded with the ν, and the vowel remained when the ν itself disappeared.

4. H.'s MSS most often show the avoidance of contraction of -ε- with the vowel that follows: ποιέειν (2.1), ἐποίεον (6), παραίνεε (17.4), ἀπολέοντες (18.1), δοκέειν (11.2), ἐκάλεον (11.2), ἐών (11.3, ≈ ὤν), and ἐόν (63.2, ≈ ὄν). ε + ο sometimes contracts to -ευ-: ποιεύμενοι (7α.2), ὑπισχνεύμενος (and cf. πλεύνων, 38.2). Although intervocalic -σ- drops out, the remaining vowels do not contract: καταστρέψεαι (2.3, ≈ καταστρέψηι/-ει), ὄψεαι (16.3, ≈ ὄψηι/-ει).
5. Verbs in -όω contract as in Attic, except that when οο or οου are preceded by a vowel, they become ευ: ἐδικαίευν (19.1, 26.1), ἀντιεύμεθα (26.6).
6. Liquid futures conjugate as if -έω contracts (§ 4), except that when a vowel precedes εο or εου they become -ευ-: ἀπολέοντες (18.1), διαφθερέονται (42.1), ὑπομενέουσι (90.2); ἀμυνεῦσι (9) for ἀμυνέουσι is an exception.
7. Note the following Ionic verb forms: (*a*) for λαμβάνω: λάμψεσθαι (108.1, ≈ λήψεσθαι), καταλελάβηκε (60.3, ≈ κατείληφε), ἀπολελαμμένοι (51.4, ἀπειληφότες); (*b*) for αἱρέω: ἀραιρήμενοι (93.1, ≈ ἡιρημένοι), ἀραίρητο (102.3, ≈ ἥιρητο).
8. -μι Verbs: in the present active, ἵημι conjugates like a verb in -εω, ἵστημι like a verb in -αω, and δίδωμι like a verb in -οω: διδοῖ (109.3, ≈ δίδωσι). εἰμί has 2nd sing. εἶς (≈ εἶ). The imperfect of εἶμι is ἤια, ἤιε, ἤισαν (≈ ἦια, ἦιε, ἤεσαν).

8. MANUSCRIPTS[179]

The manuscripts of H.'s work are customarily divided into two families, each named after the location of the principal manuscript: the Florentine (which includes A and B) and the Roman (D and R). Neither tradition is clearly superior to the other (although A, as the oldest, is generally considered the best MS), and they differ mainly in (i) the location and nature of lacunae in Books 2–9; (ii) the use or omission of iota subscript or adscript; and (iii) the substitution of more common words for rarer ones. There are, in addition, other MSS, especially C and P, that combine elements from both families, and preserve important readings. There are numerous papyrus fragments for Books 2–8, and the first for Book 9 are soon to be published.[180]

179 See above, p. 44, for additional remarks on the manuscripts.
180 On the MSS tradition, see Hemmerdinger 1981, McNeal 1983, 1986: xvii–xxvii, and the preface to the first volume of Rosén's edition; on the papyri, Paap 1948.

The sigla used in this edition are:

A *Laurentianus* 70.3, tenth century
B *Romanus Angelicus gr.* 83, eleventh or twelfth century
C *Laurentianus Conv. Suppr. gr.* 207, eleventh century
D *Vaticanus gr.* 2369, eleventh or twelfth century
P *Parisinus gr.* 1633, thirteenth or fourteenth century
R *Vaticanus gr.* 123, fourteenth century
S *Cantabrigiensis Sancroftianus coll. Emmanuelis gr.* 30, fourteenth century
V *Vindobonensis gr.* 85, fourteenth century

Following is a list of the major differences between our text and those of Hude (OCT) and Rosén (Teubner). Changes have also been made from both editions in punctuation and paragraphing; orthographical differences are not noted.

	Hude	**Rosén**	**F/M**
2.1	καταστρέψεται	καταστρέψηται	καταστρέψεται
2.2	βουλεύματα	ἰσχυρὰ βουλεύματα	ἰσχυρὰ βουλεύματα
5.1	προσφέρει	προφέρει	προφέρει
7.1	ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων	ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων	ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων
7β.1	[τὸν Πέρσην]	τὸν Πέρσην	τὸν Πέρσην
13.1	[τοῦ χρόνου]	τοῦ χρόνου	τοῦ χρόνου
13.3	⟨ἐν⟩ χώρηι	χώρηι	χώρηι
14	πρόδρομον	πρόδρομος	πρόδρομος
17.2	[ἱππέας]	ἱππέας	ἱππέας
26.6	⟨ἐς⟩ ἡμέας	ἡμέας	ἡμέας
31.5	κατειλημένοι	κατειλημμένοι	κατειλημένοι
33.1	[Κλυτιάδην]	Κλυτιάδην	Κλυτιάδην
33.5	μετιόντες	μετιέντες	μετιόντες
34.1	αἰτεομένους	αἰτεόμενος	αἰτεόμενος
35.2	Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰθώμηι	Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰθώμηι	†Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰσθμῶι†
55.1	Λακεδαιμονίων	Λακεδαιμονίους	Λακεδαιμονίους
55.2	[πρός τε]	πρός τε	πρός τε
57.2	τέσσερα	τέσσερα	δέκα
64.2	Ἀριμνήστου	Ἀειμνήστου	Ἀειμνήστου
65.2	[τὸ ἱρόν]	τὸ ἱρόν	[τὸ ἱρόν]

n. 180 (*cont.*)
The papyrus fragments of Book 9 are scheduled to appear in *P. Oxy.* 69 (2002); we were not able to take these into account for the present edition.

66.2	κατηρτισμένους	κατηρτισμένως	κατηρτισμένους
71.2	Σπαρτιῆται	ὁ Σπαρτιήτης	Σπαρτιῆται
78.3	τετιμωρήσεαι	τετιμώρησαι	τετιμώρησαι
82.3	[ἡγεμόνος]	ἡγεμόνος	ἡγεμόνος
85.1–2	ἰρένας . . . ἰρένες	ἰρένας . . . ἰρένες	ἰρέας . . . ἰρέες
85.3	ὅσοι	ὅσοι	ὅσοισι
93.4	[τοὺς προφήτας] [οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον]	τοὺς προφήτας οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον	[τοὺς προφήτας] [οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον]
94.1	προέθεσαν	προέθεσαν	προσέθεσαν
97.1	[καὶ ὡς . . . παρεσκευάζοντο]	καὶ ὡς . . . παρεσκευάζοντο	καὶ ὡς . . . παρεσκευάζοντο
98.3	Ἥρης	Ἥρης	Ἥβης

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Ι

Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὥς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθη- 1
ναίων ἐσήμηνε, ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίης ἦγε τὴν στρατιὴν σπουδῆι
ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας· ὅκου δὲ ἑκάστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμ-
βανε. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίης ἡγεομένοισι οὔτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγ-
μένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν πολλῶι τε μᾶλλον ἐπῆγον τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ
συμπροέπεμψέ τε Θώρηξ ὁ Ληρισαῖος Ξέρξην φεύγοντα καὶ
τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρῆκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι, οἱ Θη- 2
βαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῶι, λέ-
γοντες ὡς οὐκ εἴη χῶρος ἐπιτηδεότερος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐκεί-
νου, οὐδὲ ἔων ἰέναι ἑκαστέρω, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἱζόμενον ποιέειν ὅκως
ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα καταστρέψεται. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ 2
τὸ ἰσχυρὸν Ἕλληνας ὁμοφρονέοντας, οἵ περ καὶ πάρος ταὐτὰ
ἐγίνωσκον, χαλεπὰ εἶναι περιγίνεσθαι καὶ ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι·
"εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ἡμεῖς παραινέομεν", ἔφασαν λέγοντες, "ἕξεις
ἀπόνως ἅπαντα τὰ ἐκείνων ἰσχυρὰ βουλεύματα. πέμπε χρήματα 3
ἐς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἄνδρας ἐν τῆισι πόλισι, πέμπων δὲ τὴν
Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ῥηιδίως
μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων καταστρέψεαι."

Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἀλλά οἱ 3
δεινός τις ἐνέστακτο ἵμερος τὰς Ἀθήνας δεύτερα ἑλεῖν, ἅμα μὲν
ὑπ' ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἅμα δὲ πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλέϊ
δηλώσειν ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι ὅτι ἔχοι Ἀθήνας. ὃς οὐδὲ τότε 2
ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εὗρε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἔν τε
Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι ἔν τε τῆισι νησοῖ,
αἱρέει τε ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ. ἡ δὲ βασιλέος αἵρεσις ἐς τὴν ὑστέρην
τὴν Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατηίην δεκάμηνος ἐγένετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ 4
ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πέμπει ἐς Σαλαμῖνα Μου-
ρυχίδην ἄνδρα Ἑλλησπόντιον φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους
τοὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διεπόρθμευσε.

2.1 καταστρέψεται Steger: καταστρέψηται codd. 2.2 ἰσχυρά: om. ABCT

2 ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας, ἐλπίσας δέ σφεας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνω-
μοσύνης ὡς δοριαλώτου ἐούσης πάσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρης καὶ
ἐούσης ὑπ' ἑωυτῶι. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκεν ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην
5 ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ
Μαρδονίου. τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην ὥς οἱ
ἐδόκεε ἄμεινον εἶναι δεξαμένους τὸν λόγον τόν σφι Μουρυχίδης
2 προφέρει ἐξενεῖκαι ἐς τὸν δῆμον. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην
ἀπεφαίνετο, εἴτε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἴτε
καὶ ταῦτά οἱ ἑάνδανε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτίκα δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι, οἵ
τε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο, περιστάντες Λυκίδην
κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον Μουρυχίδην ἀπ-
3 έπεμψαν ἀσινέα. γενομένου δὲ θορύβου ἐν τῆι Σαλαμῖνι περὶ
τὸν Λυκίδην, πυνθάνονται τὸ γινόμενον αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων, διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναικὶ καὶ παραλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν
Λυκίδεω οἰκίην ἤισαν αὐτοκελέες, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν
γυναῖκα, κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.

6 Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὧδε. ἕως μὲν
προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἥξειν τιμωρήσοντά
σφι, οἱ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῆι Ἀττικῆι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν μακρότερα καὶ
σχολαίτερα ἐποίεον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιὼν καὶ δὴ ἐν τῆι Βοιωτίηι ἐλέγετο
εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς
Σαλαμῖνα, ἐς Λακεδαίμονά τε ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἅμα μὲν μεμψ-
ομένους τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ὅτι περιεῖδον ἐσβαλόντα τὸν βάρ-
βαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ σφέων ἠντίασαν ἐς τὴν Βοι-
ωτίην, ἅμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας ὅσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μετα-
βαλοῦσι δώσειν, προεῖπαί τε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμυνεῦσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ὡς
7 καὶ αὐτοί τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὑρήσονται. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
ὅρταζόν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καί σφι ἦν Ὑακίνθια, περὶ πλείσ-
του δ' ἦγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν· ἅμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχός σφι, τὸ ἐν
τῶι Ἰσθμῶι ἐτείχεον, καὶ ἤδη ἐπάλξις ἐλάμβανε. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς
τὴν Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι ἔκ τε
Μεγάρων ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐκ Πλαταιέων, ἔλεγον τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ

5.1 προσφέρει Const. 5.2 Μουρυχίδην del. Herwerden
7.1 Ἀθηνέων A

τοὺς ἐφόρους· "ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναῖοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἡμῖν βασι- α
λεὺς ὁ Μήδων τοῦτο μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀποδιδοῖ, τοῦτο δὲ συμμάχους ἐθέλει ἐπ' ἴσηι τε καὶ ὁμοίηι ποιήσασθαι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης, ἐθέλει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην χώρην πρὸς τῆι ἡμετέρῃι διδόναι,
τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἑλώμεθα. ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέντες 2
καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι οὐ καταινέσαμεν ἀλλ' ἀπειπάμεθα, καίπερ ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδόμενοι, ἐπιστάμενοί τε ὅτι κερδαλεώτερόν ἐστι ὁμολογέειν τῶι Πέρσηι μᾶλλον ἤ περ πολεμέειν· οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν ἑκόντες εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ' ἡμέων οὕτω ἀκίβδηλον νέμεται ἐπὶ
τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ β
ὁμολογήσωμεν τῶι Πέρσηι, ἐπείτε ἐξεμάθετε τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὐδαμὰ προδώσομεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διότι τεῖχος ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλαυνόμενον ἐν τέλεΐ ἐστι, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθε, συνθέμενοί τε ἡμῖν τὸν Πέρσην ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην προδεδώκατε, περιείδετέ τε ἐσ-
βαλόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν βάρβαρον. ἐς μέν νυν τὸ παρεὸν 2
Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μηνίουσι· οὐ γὰρ ἐποιήσατε ἐπιτηδέως. νῦν δὲ ὅ τι τάχος στρατιὴν ἅμα ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας ἐκπέμπειν, ὡς ἂν τὸν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῆι Ἀττικῆι· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τῆς Βοιωτίης, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεότατόν ἐστι ἐμμαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον."

Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἤκουσαν οἱ ἔφοροι ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν 8
ὑστεραίην ὑποκρίνασθαι, τῆι δὲ ὑστεραίηι ἐς τὴν ἑτέρην· τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐποίεον, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι· ἐν δὲ τούτωι τῶι χρόνωι τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐτείχεον σπουδὴν ἔχοντες
πολλὴν πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι, καί σφι ἦν πρὸς τέλεϊ. οὐδ' ἔχω 2
εἰπεῖν τὸ αἴτιον δι' ὅ τι ἀπικομένου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐς Ἀθήνας σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίους, τότε δὲ ὤρην ἐποιήσαντο οὐδεμίαν, ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἰσθμός σφι ἐτετείχιστο καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίων ἔτι δέεσθαι οὐδέν· ὅτε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οὔκω ἀπετετείχιστο, ἐργάζοντο δὲ μεγάλως καταρρωδηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας.

Τέλος δὲ τῆς τε ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐγέν- 9
ετο τρόπος τοιόσδε· τῆι προτεραίηι τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσιος

μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι Χίλεος ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης, δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαί-
μονι μέγιστον ξείνων, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον,
2 τὸν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεος ἔλεγε ἄρα
σφι τάδε· "οὕτως ἔχει, ἄνδρες ἔφοροι· Ἀθηναίων ἡμῖν ἐόντων
μὴ ἀρθμίων, τῶι δὲ βαρβάρωι συμμάχων, καίπερ τείχεος διὰ
τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένου καρτεροῦ, μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπ-
τέαται ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῶι Πέρσηι. ἀλλ' ἐσακούσατε,
10 πρίν τι ἄλλο Ἀθηναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῆι Ἑλλάδι." ὁ
μὲν σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευε· οἱ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν λόγον
αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι ἀπιγμένοισι ἀπὸ
τῶν πολίων, νυκτὸς ἔτι ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτι-
ητέων καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τάξαντες τῶν εἱλώτων, Παυσανίηι
2 τῶι Κλεομβρότου ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐξάγειν. ἐγίνετο μέν νυν ἡ ἡγε-
μονίη Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦν ἔτι παῖς, ὁ δὲ τού-
του ἐπίτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. (Κλεόμβροτος γὰρ ὁ Παυσανίεω
μὲν πατήρ, Ἀναξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς οὐκέτι περιῆν, ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγὼν
ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δείμασαν μετὰ ταῦτα
3 οὐ πολλόν τινα χρόνον βιοὺς ἀπέθανε. ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ
Κλεόμβροτος ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε· θυομένωι οἱ ἐπὶ τῶι Πέρσηι ὁ
ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῶι οὐρανῶι.) προσαιρέεται δὲ ἑωυτῶι Παυ-
σανίης Εὐρυάνακτα τὸν Δωριέος, ἄνδρα οἰκίης ἐόντα τῆς αὐτῆς.
οἱ μὲν δὴ σὺν Παυσανίηι ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἔξω Σπάρτης.
11 Οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγεγόνεε, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξό-
δου ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἐν νόωι δὴ ἔχοντες ἀπαλλάσσ-
εσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος· ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον
τάδε· "ὑμεῖς μέν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, αὐτοῦ τῆιδε μένοντες Ὑακίνθιά
τε ἄγετε καὶ παίζετε, καταπροδόντες τοὺς συμμάχους· Ἀθηναῖοι
δὲ ὡς ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπὸ ὑμέων χήτεΐ τε συμμάχων καταλύσονται
2 τῶι Πέρσηι οὕτως ὅκως ἂν δύνωνται. καταλυσάμενοι δέ, δῆλα
γὰρ ὅτι σύμμαχοι βασιλέος γινόμεθα, συστρατευσόμεθα ἐπὶ τὴν
ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγέωνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν μαθήσεσθε ὁκοῖον ἄν
τι ὑμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνηι." ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν ἀγγέλων οἱ
ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπ' ὅρκου καὶ δὴ δοκέειν εἶναι ἐν Ὀρεσθείωι στί-
χοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους (ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους).

9.2 ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα PDJRSV 10.1 καὶ ἑπτὰ ... τῶν εἱλώτων: om. RSV

οἱ δὲ ὡς οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτων τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειρόμενοι δὲ ἐξέ- 3
μαθον πᾶν τὸ ἐόν, ὥστε ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο τὴν
ταχίστην διώκοντες· σὺν δέ σφι τῶν περιοίκων Λακεδαιμονίων
λογάδες πεντακισχίλιοι τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεον. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν 12
Ἰσθμὸν ἠπείγοντο.

Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐπείτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντο τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίεω
ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμπουσι κήρυκα τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων
ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἄριστον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, πρότερον αὐτοὶ Μαρ-
δονίωι ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ ἐξιέναι· ὃς ἐπείτε 2
ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔλεγε τάδε· "Μαρδόνιε, ἔπεμψάν με Ἀργεῖοι
φράσοντά σοι ὅτι ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἐξελήλυθε ἡ νεότης, καὶ ὡς
οὐ δυνατοὶ αὐτὴν ἴσχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἐξιέναι. πρὸς ταῦτα 13
τύγχανε εὖ βουλευόμενος." ὁ μὲν δὴ εἴπας ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσετο
ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἔτι πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν τῆι
Ἀττικῆι, ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μέν νυν ἢ πυθέσθαι ἀνεκώχευε,
θέλων εἰδέναι τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίων, ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι, καὶ οὔτε
ἐπήμαινε οὔτε ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἐλπίζων διὰ παντὸς
τοῦ χρόνου ὁμολογήσειν σφέας· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, πυθόμενος 2
πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίεω ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐσ-
βαλεῖν, ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴ κού τι ὀρθὸν
ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν
καὶ συγχώσας. ἐξήλαυνε δὲ τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅτι οὔτε ἱππασίμη ἡ 3
χώρη ἦν ἡ Ἀττική, εἴ τε νικῶιτο συμβαλών, ἀπάλλαξις οὐκ ἦν
ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινόν, ὥστε καὶ ὀλίγους σφέας ἀνθρώπους ἴσχειν.
ἐβουλεύετο ὦν ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐς τὰς Θήβας συμβαλεῖν πρὸς πόλι
τε φιλίηι καὶ χώρηι ἱππασίμωι.

Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε, ἤδη δὲ ἐν τῆι ὁδῶι ἐόντι 14
αὐτῶι ἦλθε ἀγγελίη πρόδρομος ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἥκειν ἐς Μέγαρα,
Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίους. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο, θέλων
εἴ κως τούτους πρῶτον ἕλοι. ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ἦγε
ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα, ἡ δὲ ἵππος προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώρην
τὴν Μεγαρίδα· ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἑκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς

11.3 πεντακισχίλιοι ὁπλῖται ABCTM 13.1 τοῦ χρόνου om. S
14 πρόδρομος codd.: πρόδρομον Schweighäuser
προελθοῦσα DJRSV: προσελθοῦσα ABCP¹

15 ἡλίου δύνοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ ἀπίκετο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
Μαρδονίωι ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς ἀλέες εἴησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῶι
Ἰσθμῶι. οὕτω δὴ ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελέης· οἱ γὰρ βοι-
ωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οὗτοι
δὲ αὐτῶι τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγέοντο ἐς Σφενδαλέας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Τάνα-
2 γραν. ἐν Τανάγρηι δὲ νύκτα ἐναυλισάμενος καὶ τραπόμενος τῆι
ὑστεραίηι ἐς Σκῶλον ἐν γῆι τῆι Θηβαίων ἦν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν
Θηβαίων καίπερ μηδιζόντων ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους, οὔτι κατὰ ἔχθος
αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐχόμενος, βουλόμενος ἔρυμά
τε τῶι στρατοπέδωι ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἦν συμβαλόντι οἱ μὴ ἐκ-
3 βαίνηι ὁκοῖόν τι ἐθέλοι, κρησφύγετον τοῦτο ἐποιέετο. παρῆκε δὲ
αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων παρὰ Ὑσιάς,
κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν
τεταγμένον. οὐ μέντοι τό γε τεῖχος τοσοῦτον ἐποιέετο, ἀλλ' ὡς
ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστά κηι μέτωπον ἕκαστον.

4 Ἐχόντων δὲ τὸν πόνον τοῦτον τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἀτταγῖνος
ὁ Φρύνωνος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως ἐκάλεε
ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτόν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Περσέων τοὺς
λογιμωτάτους, κληθέντες δὲ οὗτοι εἵποντο· ἦν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον
16 ποιεύμενον ἐν Θήβηισι. τάδε δὲ ἤδη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἤκουον Θερ-
σάνδρου ἀνδρὸς μὲν Ὀρχομενίου, λογίμου δὲ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν
Ὀρχομενῶι. ἔφη δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος κληθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀττα-
γίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦτο, κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρας
πεντήκοντα, καί σφεων οὐ χωρὶς ἑκατέρους κλῖναι, ἀλλὰ Πέρ-
2 σην τε καὶ Θηβαῖον ἐν κλίνηι ἑκάστηι. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου
ἦσαν, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσην τὸν ὁμόκλινον Ἑλλάδα γλῶσ-
σαν ἱέντα εἰρέσθαι αὐτὸν ποδαπός ἐστι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι
ὡς εἴη Ὀρχομένιος. τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν· "ἐπεὶ νῦν ὁμοτράπεζός τέ μοι
καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μνημόσυνά τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς κατα-
λιπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ προειδὼς αὐτὸς περὶ σεωυτοῦ βουλεύεσθαι
3 ἔχηις τὰ συμφέροντα. ὁρᾶις τούτους τοὺς δαινυμένους Πέρσας
καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῶι ποταμῶι στρατοπεδευό-
μενον; τούτων πάντων ὄψεαι ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος
ὀλίγους τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους." ταῦτά τε ἅμα τὸν Πέρσην

15.1 ἧκε MP 15.1 προχόρους SV

λέγειν καὶ μετιέναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων. αὐτὸς δὲ θωμάσας τὸν 4
λόγον εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν· "οὐκῶν Μαρδονίωι τε ταῦτα χρεόν
ἐστι λέγειν καὶ τοῖσι μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐν αἴνηι ἐοῦσι Περσέων;" τὸν
δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν· "ξεῖνε, ὅ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀμή-
χανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπωι· οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγουσι ἐθέλει
πείθεσθαι οὐδείς. ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συχνοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἑπόμεθα 5
ἀναγκαίηι ἐνδεδεμένοι. ἐχθίστη δὲ ὀδύνη ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι
αὕτη, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν." ταῦτα μὲν τοῦ
Ὀρχομενίου Θερσάνδρου ἤκουον, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοισι, ὡς
αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι
ἐν Πλαταιῆισι τὴν μάχην.

Μαρδονίου δὲ ἐν τῆι Βοιωτίηι στρατοπεδευομένου οἱ μὲν 17
ἄλλοι παρείχοντο ἅπαντες στρατιὴν καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθή-
νας ὅσοι περ ἐμήδιζον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ταύτηι οἰκημένων, μοῦνοι
δὲ Φωκέες οὐ συνεσέβαλον· ἐμήδιζον γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὗτοι
οὐκ ἑκόντες ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης. ἡμέρηισι δὲ οὐ πολλῆισι μετὰ 2
τὴν ἄπιξιν τὴν ἐς Θήβας ὕστερον ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὁπλῖται χίλιοι·
ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἁρμοκύδης ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατος. ἐπεὶ
δὲ ἀπίκατο καὶ οὗτοι ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἱππέας
ἐκέλευσέ σφεας ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν ἐν τῶι πεδίωι ἵζεσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἐποίησαν 3
ταῦτα, αὐτίκα παρῆν ἵππος ἡ ἅπασα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διεξῆλθε
μὲν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μήδων ἐόν-
τος φήμη ὡς κατακοντιεῖ σφεας, διεξῆλθε δὲ δι' αὐτῶν Φωκέων
τὠυτὸ τοῦτο. ἔνθα δή σφι ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἁρμοκύδης παραίνεε 4
λέγων τοιάδε· "ὦ Φωκέες, πρόδηλα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρ-
ωποι μέλλουσι προόπτωι θανάτωι δώσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ
Θεσσαλῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω· νῦν ὦν ἄνδρα πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρεόν
ἐστι γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· κρέσσον γὰρ ποιεῦντάς τι καὶ ἀμυνομένους
τελευτῆσαι τὸν αἰῶνα ἤ περ παρέχοντας διαφθαρῆναι αἰσχίστωι
μόρωι. ἀλλὰ μαθέτω τις αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐόντες βάρβαροι ἐπ' Ἕλλησι
ἀνδράσι φόνον ἔρραψαν." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παραίνεε· οἱ δὲ ἱππέες 18
ἐπείτε σφέας ἐκυκλώσαντο, ἐπήλαυνον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, καὶ δὴ δι-
ετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσοντες, καί κού τις καὶ ἀπῆκε. καὶ οἳ

17.2 ἱππέας ante ὁ DRSV: ἱππέας del. Kallenberg

ἀντίοι ἔστησαν, πάντηι συστρέψαντες ἑωυτοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαν-
τες ὡς μάλιστα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἱππόται ὑπέστρεφον καὶ ἀπήλαυνον
2 ὀπίσω. οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἦλθον μὲν ἀπολέοντες
τοὺς Φωκέας δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρων πρὸς ἀλέξησιν
τραπομένους, δείσαντες μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρῶμα, οὕτω δὴ
ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω (ὥς γάρ σφι ἐνετείλατο Μαρδόνιος), οὔτ' εἰ
3 αὐτῶν πειρηθῆναι ἠθέλησε εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι. ὡς δὲ ὀπίσω
ἀπήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται, πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε·
"θαρσέετε, ὦ Φωκέες· ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐφάνητε ἐόντες ἀγαθοί, οὐκ ὡς
ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην. καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον·
εὐεργεσίηισι γὰρ οὐ νικήσετε οὔτ' ὦν ἐμὲ οὔτε βασιλέα." τὰ περὶ
Φωκέων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

19 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὡς ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἦλθον, ἐν τούτωι ἐστρατο-
πεδεύοντο. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοποννήσιοι,
τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἑάνδανε, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὁρῶντες ἐξιόντας Σπαρτιή-
2 τας, οὐκ ἐδικαίευν λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου [Λακεδαιμονίων]. ἐκ δὴ
ὦν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καλλιερησάντων τῶν ἱρῶν ἐπορεύοντο πάντες
καὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα· ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἱρά,
ὥς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἅμα αὐ-
τοῖσι, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, συμμιγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι.
3 ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἀπίκοντο τῆς Βοιωτίης ἐς Ἐρυθράς, ἔμαθόν τε δὴ
τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τῶι Ἀσωπῶι στρατοπεδευομένους, φρασθέν-
τες δὲ τοῦτο ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρείης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος.
20 Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὡς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸ πεδίον,
πέμπει ἐς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἵππον, τῆς ἱππάρχεε Μασίστιος
εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Πέρσηισι (τὸν Ἕλληνες Μακίστιον καλέουσι),
ἵππον ἔχων Νησαῖον χρυσοχάλινόν τε καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον
καλῶς. ἐνθαῦτα ὡς προσήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα, προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργά-
ζοντο καὶ γυναῖκάς σφεας ἀπεκάλεον.

21 Κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρέες ἔτυχον ταχθέντες ἧι τε ἐπι-
μαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χώρου παντός, καὶ ἡ πρόσοδος μάλιστα

19.1 Λακεδαιμονίων del. Stein 19.2 τῶν ἱρῶν del. Krueger
19.2 ἐκαλλιέρεε, τὸ Suevern: ἐκαλλιρέετο R: ἐκαλλιερέετο cett.
21.1 τῆι τε Bekker: ἧι τὸ ABTMP[1] : ἧι D[1] P[c]

ταύτηι ἐγίνετο τῆι ἵππωι. προσβαλλούσης ὦν τῆς ἵππου οἱ Μεγαρέες πιεζόμενοι ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
κήρυκα, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε· "Μεγαρέες 2
λέγουσι· ἡμεῖς, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοί εἰμεν τὴν Περσέων ἵππον δέκεσθαι μοῦνοι, ἔχοντες στάσιν ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔστημεν ἀρχήν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τόδε λιπαρίηι τε καὶ ἀρετῆι ἀντέχομεν καίπερ πιεζόμενοι. νῦν τε, εἰ μή τινας ἄλλους πέμψετε διαδό-
χους τῆς τάξιος, ἴστε ἡμέας ἐκλείψοντας τὴν τάξιν." ὁ μὲν δή σφι 3
ταῦτα ἀπήγγελλε, Παυσανίης δὲ ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινες ἐθέλοιεν ἄλλοι ἐθελονταὶ ἰέναι τε ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καὶ τάσσεσθαι διάδοχοι Μεγαρεῦσι. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ τριηκόσιοι λογάδες, τῶν ἐλοχήγεε Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπωνος.

Οὗτοι ἦσαν οἵ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν 22
παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελόμενοι. μαχομένων δέ σφεων ἐπὶ χρόνον τέλος τοιόνδε ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης· προσβαλλούσης τῆς ἵππου κατὰ τέλεα ὁ Μασιστίου προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἵππος βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά, ἀλ-
γήσας δὲ ἵσταταί τε ὀρθὸς καὶ ἀποσείεται τὸν Μασίστιον. πεσόντι 2
δὲ αὐτῶι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο. τόν τε δὴ ἵππον αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι. ἐνεσκεύαστο γὰρ οὕτω· ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἶχε χρύσεον λεπιδωτόν, κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα φοινίκεον ἐνεδεδύκεε. τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα ἐποίευν οὐδέν, πρίν γε δὴ μαθών τις τὸ ποιεύμενον παίει μιν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. οὕτω δὴ ἔπεσέ τε καὶ
ἀπέθανε. ταῦτα δέ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας· 3
οὔτε γὰρ πεσόντα μιν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου οὔτε ἀποθνήισκοντα, ἀναχωρήσιός τε γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον. ἐπείτε δὲ ἔστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν, ὥς σφεας οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ τάσσων· μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονός, διακελευσάμενοι ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, ὡς ἂν τόν γε νεκρὸν ἀνελοίατο.

Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα προσελαύνοντας 23
τοὺς ἱππέας ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντας, τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἐπεβώσαντο. ἐν ὧι δὲ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας ἐπεβοήθεε, ἐν τούτωι μάχη ὀξέα περὶ
τοῦ νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἕως μέν νυν μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ τριηκόσιοι, 2

ἑσσοῦντό τε πολλὸν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπέλειπον· ὡς δέ σφι τὸ
πλῆθος ἐπεβοήθησε, οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἱππόται ὑπέμενον, οὐδέ
σφι ἐξεγένετο τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνωι ἄλλους
προσαπώλεσαν τῶν ἱππέων. ἀποστήσαντες ὦν ὅσον τε δύο στά-
δια ἐβουλεύοντο ὅ τι χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν· ἐδόκεε δέ σφι ἀναρχίης
24 ἐούσης ἀπελαύνειν παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς ἵππου
ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πένθος ἐποιήσαντο Μασιστίου πᾶσά τε ἡ
στρατιὴ καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστον, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ
τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια οἰμωγῆι τε χρεώμενοι ἀπλέτωι·
ἅπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτίην κατεῖχε ἠχὼ ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου
μετά γε Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτου παρά τε Πέρσηισι καὶ βασιλέϊ.
οἱ μέν νυν βάρβαροι τρόπωι τῶι σφετέρωι ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων
Μασίστιον.

25 Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἵππον ἐδέξαντο προσβάλλουσαν καὶ
δεξάμενοι ὤσαντο, ἐθάρσησαν πολλῶι μᾶλλον. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν
ἐς ἅμαξαν ἐσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ τὰς τάξις ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δὲ
νεκρὸς ἦν θέης ἄξιος μεγάθεος εἵνεκα καὶ κάλλεος· τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα καὶ
ταῦτα ἐποίευν. ἐκλιπόντες τὰς τάξις ἐφοίτεον θεησόμενοι Μασίσ-
2 τιον. μετὰ δὲ ἔδοξέ σφι ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χῶρος
ἐφαίνετο πολλῶι ἐὼν ἐπιτηδεότερός σφι ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ὁ
Πλαταιικὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου τά τε ἄλλα καὶ εὐυδρότερος. ἐς τοῦ-
τον δὴ τὸν χῶρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην τὴν ἐν τῶι
χώρωι τούτωι ἐοῦσαν ἔδοξέ σφι χρεὸν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι καὶ δια-
3 ταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἤισαν
διὰ τῆς ὑπωρείης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος παρὰ Ὑσιὰς ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα
γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἔθνεα πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης
τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος διὰ
ὄχθων τε οὐκ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χώρου.

26 Ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῆι διατάξει ἐγένετο λόγων πολλὸς ὠθισμὸς
Τεγεητέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων· ἐδικαίευν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔχειν
τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, καὶ καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα. τοῦτο
2 μὲν οἱ Τεγεῆται ἔλεγον τάδε· "ἡμεῖς αἰεί κοτε ἀξιεύμεθα ταύτης
τῆς τάξιος ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἁπάντων, ὅσαι ἤδη ἔξοδοι κοιναὶ
ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ τὸ πάλαι καὶ τὸ νέον, ἐξ ἐκείνου
τοῦ χρόνου ἐπείτε Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπειρῶντο μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος

θάνατον κατιόντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον. τότε εὑρόμεθα τοῦτο διὰ 3
πρῆγμα τοιόνδε. ἐπεὶ μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἰώνων τῶν τότε ἐόντων
ἐν Πελοποννήσωι ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἱζόμεθα ἀντίοι
τοῖσι κατιοῦσι, τότε ὦν λόγος Ὕλλον ἀγορεύσασθαι ὡς χρεὸν εἴη
τὸν μὲν στρατὸν τῶι στρατῶι μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα,
ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου στρατοπέδου τὸν ἂν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίν-
ωσι εἶναι ἄριστον, τοῦτόν οἱ μουνομαχῆσαι ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι.
ἔδοξέ τε τοῖσι Πελοποννησίοισι ταῦτα εἶναι ποιητέα καὶ ἔτα- 4
μον ὅρκιον ἐπὶ λόγωι τοιῶιδε, ἢν μὲν Ὕλλος νικήσηι τὸν Πελο-
ποννησίων ἡγεμόνα, κατιέναι Ἡρακλείδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώια, ἢν δὲ
νικηθῆι, τὰ ἔμπαλιν Ἡρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν
στρατιὴν ἑκατόν τε ἐτέων μὴ ζητῆσαι κάτοδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον.
προεκρίθη τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων ἐθελοντὴς Ἔχεμος ὁ 5
Ἠερόπου τοῦ Φηγέος, στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμέτερος,
καὶ ἐμουνομάχησέ τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Ὕλλον. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου
εὑρόμεθα ἐν Πελοποννησίοισι τοῖσι τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα,
τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἑτέρου αἰεὶ ἡγεμονεύειν
κοινῆς ἐξόδου γινομένης. ὑμῖν μέν νυν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐκ ἀν- 6
τιεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ διδόντες αἵρεσιν ὁκοτέρου βούλεσθε κέρεος ἄρχειν
παρίεμεν· τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου φαμὲν ἡμέας ἱκνέεσθαι ἡγεμονεύειν κατά
περ ἐν τῶι πρόσθε χρόνωι. χωρίς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγημένου
ἔργου ἀξιονικότεροί εἰμεν Ἀθηναίων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν·
πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ εὖ ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆ- 7
ται, ἀγῶνες ἀγωνίδαται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους. οὕτω ὦν
δίκαιον ἡμέας ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας ἤ περ Ἀθηναίους· οὐ γάρ σφί
ἐστι ἔργα οἷά περ ἡμῖν κατεργασμένα, οὔτ᾽ ὦν καινὰ οὔτε παλαιά."

Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο 27
τάδε· "ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τήνδε μάχης εἵνεκα συλλεγῆναι
πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ λόγων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τεγεήτης προέθηκε
παλαιά τε καὶ καινὰ λέγειν τὰ ἑκατέροισι ἐν τῶι παντὶ χρόνωι
κατέργασται χρηστά, ἀναγκαίως ἡμῖν ἔχει δηλῶσαι πρὸς ὑμέας
ὅθεν ἡμῖν πατρώιόν ἐστι ἐοῦσι χρηστοῖσι αἰεί πρώτοισι εἶναι
μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι. Ἡρακλείδας, τῶν οὗτοί φασι ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν 2

26.6 ⟨ἐς⟩ ἡμέας Koen

ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῶι, τοῦτο μέν, τούτους πρότερον ἐξελαυνομένους
ὑπὸ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην
πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μοῦνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι τὴν Εὐρυσθέος ὕβριν
κατείλομεν, σὺν ἐκείνοισι μάχηι νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχον-
3 τας Πελοπόννησον. τοῦτο δὲ Ἀργείους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος
ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἀτάφους
κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς
4 νεκρούς φαμεν καὶ θάψαι τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν
ἔργον εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ποτα-
μοῦ ἐσβαλούσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν· καὶ ἐν τοῖσι Τρωικοῖσι
πόνοισι οὐδαμῶν ἐλιπόμεθα. ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων
ἐπιμεμνῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἂν χρηστοὶ τότε ἐόντες ὡυτοὶ νῦν ἂν
εἶεν φλαυρότεροι καὶ τότε ἐόντες φλαῦροι νῦν ἂν εἶεν ἀμείνονες.
5 παλαιῶν μέν νυν ἔργων ἅλις ἔστω· ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ
ἀποδεδεγμένον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εὖ ἔχοντα εἰ τέοισι
καὶ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου
ἄξιοί εἰμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτωι, οἵτινες
μοῦνοι Ἑλλήνων δὴ μουνομαχήσαντες τῶι Πέρσηι καὶ ἔργωι
τοσούτωι ἐπιχειρήσαντες περιεγενόμεθα καὶ ἐνικήσαμεν ἔθνεα ἓξ
6 τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. ἆρ' οὐ δίκαιοί εἰμεν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν
ἀπὸ τούτου μούνου τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῶι τοιῶιδε
τάξιος εἵνεκα στασιάζειν πρέπει, ἄρτιοί εἰμεν πείθεσθαι ὑμῖν,
ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵνα δοκέει ἐπιτηδεότατον ἡμέας εἶναι ἑστάναι
καὶ κατ' οὕστινας· πάντηι γὰρ τεταγμένοι πειρησόμεθα εἶναι
28 χρηστοί. ἐξηγέεσθε δὲ ὡς πεισομένων." οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἀμείβοντο,
Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἀξ-
ιονικοτέρους εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἤ περ Ἀρκάδας. οὕτω δὴ ἔσχον
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας.
2 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε καὶ οἱ
ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον Λακεδαι-
μονίων μύριοι· τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἐόντας Σπαρ-
τιήτας ἐφύλασσον ψιλοὶ τῶν εἱλώτων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισ-
3 μύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἑπτὰ τεταγμένοι. προσεχέας δὲ

27.2 τοῦτο μὲν om. DJRSV 27.4 ἡρωϊκοῖς DJRSV
27.4 ἐλείπομεθα CTMPS 27.5 οἷσπερ Renehan

σφίσι εἵλοντο ἑστάναι οἱ Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆς
εἵνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς· τούτων δ' ἦσαν ὁπλῖται χίλιοι καὶ πεντακό-
σιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἵσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι, παρὰ
δὲ σφίσι εὕροντο παρὰ Παυσανίεω ἑστάναι Ποτειδαιητέων τῶν
ἐκ Παλλήνης τοὺς παρεόντας τριηκοσίους. τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι 4
ἵσταντο Ἀρκάδες Ὀρχομένιοι ἑξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Σικυωνίων
τρισχίλιοι. τούτων δὲ εἴχοντο Ἐπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι· παρὰ
δὲ τούτους Τροιζηνίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι, Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἐχό-
μενοι Λεπρεητέων διηκόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Μυκηναίων καὶ Τιρυν-
θίων τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Φλειάσιοι χίλιοι· παρὰ
δὲ τούτους ἔστησαν Ἑρμιονέες τριηκόσιοι. Ἑρμιονέων δὲ ἐχό- 5
μενοι ἵσταντο Ἐρετριέων τε καὶ Στυρέων ἑξακόσιοι, τούτων
δὲ Χαλκιδέες τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Ἀμπρακιωτέων πεντακό-
σιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτακό-
σιοι ἔστησαν, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Παλέες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλληνίης
διηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Αἰγινητέων πεντακόσιοι ἐτάχθη- 6
σαν· παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐτάσσοντο Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι· εἴ-
χοντο δέ τούτων Πλαταιέες ἑξακόσιοι· τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι
Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτάσσοντο, κέρας ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὀκτακισχί-
λιοι· ἐστρατήγεε δ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου. οὗτοι, 29
πλὴν τῶν ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τεταγμένων Σπαρτιήτῃσι, ἦσαν
ὁπλῖται, συνάπαντες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ
ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἑπτά. ὁπλῖται μὲν οἱ πάν-
τες συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι. ψιλῶν δὲ
πλῆθος ἦν τόδε· τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιητικῆς τάξιος πεντακισχίλιοι
καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες ὡς ἐόντων ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα,
καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρήρτητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον. οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν 2
Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ψιλοί, ὡς εἷς περὶ ἕκαστον ἐὼν ἄν-
δρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἦσαν. ψιλῶν
μὲν δὴ τῶν ἁπάντων μαχίμων ἦν τὸ πλῆθος ἕξ τε μυριάδες
καὶ ἐννέα χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες πέντε, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος 30
Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιὰς σύν τε ὁπλίτῃσι καὶ
ψιλοῖσι τοῖσι μαχίμοισι ἕνδεκα μυριάδες ἦσαν, μιῆς χιλιάδος,
πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν καταδέουσαι. σὺν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖσι
παρεοῦσι ἐξεπληροῦντο αἱ ἕνδεκα μυριάδες· παρῆσαν γὰρ καὶ

Θεσπιέων ἐν τῶι στρατοπέδωι οἱ περιεόντες, ἀριθμὸν ἐς
31 ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους· ὅπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὗτοι εἶχον. οὗτοι μέν νυν
ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῶι Ἀσωπῶι ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.
Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπεκήδευσαν Μασίστιον,
παρῆσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιῆισι, καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτηι ῥέοντα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσσοντο
ὧδε ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου. κατὰ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔστησε Πέρσας.
2 καὶ δὴ πολλὸν γὰρ περιῆσαν πλήθεϊ οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπί τε τάξις πλεῦ-
νας ἐκεκοσμέατο καὶ ἐπεῖχον καὶ τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἔταξε δὲ οὕτω·
ὅ τι μὲν ἦν αὐτῶν δυνατώτατον πᾶν ἀπολέξας ἔστησε ἀντίον
Λακεδαιμονίων, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγεή-
τας. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεε φραζόντων τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων.
3 Περσέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους
τε καὶ Ποτειδαιήτας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικυωνίους. Μήδων
δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐπιδαυρίους τε
καὶ Τροιζηνίους καὶ Λεπρεήτας τε καὶ Τιρυνθίους καὶ Μυκηναίους
4 τε καὶ Φλειασίους. μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε Ἰνδούς· οὗτοι δὲ
ἐπέσχον Ἑρμιονέας τε καὶ Ἐρετριέας καὶ Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας.
Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε, οἳ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακιώτας τε
καὶ Ἀνακτορίους καὶ Λευκαδίους καὶ Παλέας καὶ Αἰγινήτας.
5 Σακέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων
καὶ Μεγαρέων Βοιωτούς τε καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ Μηλιέας καὶ Θεσσα-
λοὺς καὶ Φωκέων τοὺς χιλίους· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἅπαντες οἱ Φωκέες ἐμήδι-
ζον, ἀλλά τινες αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ηὖξον περὶ τὸν Παρνησσὸν
κατειλημένοι, καὶ ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμώμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τήν
τε Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐόντας Ἑλλήνων.
ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους
32 κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ μέγιστα ὠνό-
μασται τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τά περ ἐπιφανέστατά
τε ἦν καὶ λόγου πλείστου. ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων ἄν-
δρες ἀναμεμιγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν καὶ Θρηίκων τε καὶ
Παιόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἵ
τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι μαχαιροφόροι, οἵ περ

31.5 κατειλημμένοι ABDRSV

εἰσὶ Αἰγυπτίων μοῦνοι μάχιμοι. τούτους δὲ ἔτι ἐν Φαλήρωι ἐὼν 2 ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπεβιβάσατο, ἐόντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν ἅμα Ξέρξηι ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται· τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οἶδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμόν (οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἠριθμήθησαν), ὡς δὲ ἐπεικάσαι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλεγῆναι εἰκάζω. οὗτοι οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο.

Ὡς δὲ ἄρα πάντες οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατά τε ἔθνεα καὶ κατὰ 33 τέλεα, ἐνθαῦτα τῆι δευτέρηι ἡμέρηι ἐθύοντο καὶ ἀμφότεροι. Ἕλλησι μὲν Τεισαμενὸς Ἀντιόχου ἦν ὁ θυόμενος· οὗτος γὰρ δὴ εἵπετο τῶι στρατεύματι τούτωι μάντις· τὸν ἐόντα Ἠλεῖον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων Κλυτιάδην Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποιήσαντο λεωσφέτερον. Τεισαμενῶι γὰρ μαντευομένωι ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου 2 ἀνεῖλε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χρηστηρίου προσεῖχε γυμνασίοισι ὡς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἀσκέων δὲ πεντάεθλον παρὰ ἓν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε νικᾶν ὀλυμπιάδα, Ἱερωνύμωι τῶι Ἀνδρίωι ἐλθὼν ἐς ἔριν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μαθόντες οὐκ ἐς γυμνικοὺς ἀλλ' 3 ἐς ἀρηίους ἀγῶνας φέρον τὸ Τεισαμενοῦ μαντήιον, μισθῶι ἐπειρῶντο πείσαντες Τεισαμενὸν ποιέεσθαι ἅμα Ἡρακλειδέων τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων. ὁ δὲ ὁρῶν περὶ πολλοῦ 4 ποιευμένους Σπαρτιήτας φίλον αὐτὸν προσθέσθαι, μαθὼν τοῦτο ἀνετίμα σημαίνων σφι ὡς ἤν μιν πολιήτην σφέτερον ποιήσωνται τῶν πάντων μεταδιδόντες, ποιήσει ταῦτα, ἐπ' ἄλλωι μισθῶι δ' οὔ. Σπαρτιῆται δὲ πρῶτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιεῦντο 5 καὶ μετίεσαν τῆς χρησμοσύνης τὸ παράπαν, τέλος δέ δείματος μεγάλου ἐπικρεμαμένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ τούτου στρατεύματος καταίνεον μετιόντες. ὁ δὲ γνοὺς τετραμμένους σφέας οὐδ' οὕτως ἔτι ἔφη ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοισι μούνοισι, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἔτι τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ Ἡγίην γίνεσθαι Σπαρτιήτην ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται.

33.1 Κλυτιάδην secl. Valckenaer: Κλυτιάδου S
33.5 μετιόντες DRSV: μετιέντες ABCP

34 Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων οὗτος ἐμιμέετο Μελάμποδα, ὡς εἰκάσαι,
βασιληίην τε καὶ πολιτηίην αἰτεόμενος. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μελάμ-
πους τῶν ἐν Ἄργεϊ γυναικῶν μανεισέων, ὥς μιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι
ἐμισθοῦντο ἐκ Πύλου παῦσαι τὰς σφετέρας γυναῖκας τῆς νούσου,
2 μισθὸν προετείνατο τῆς βασιληίης τὸ ἥμισυ. οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ
τῶν Ἀργείων ἀλλ' ἀπιόντων, ὡς ἐμαίνοντο πολλῶι πλεῦνες τῶν
γυναικῶν, οὕτω δὴ ὑποστάντες τὰ ὁ Μελάμπους προετείνατο
ἤισαν δώσοντές οἱ ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπορέγεται ὁρῶν αὐ-
τοὺς τετραμμένους, φάς, ἢν μὴ καὶ τῶι ἀδελφεῶι Βίαντι μεταδῶσι
τὸ τριτημόριον τῆς βασιληίης, οὐ ποιήσειν τὰ βούλονται. οἱ δὲ
35 Ἀργεῖοι ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν καταινέουσι καὶ ταῦτα. ὣς δὲ
καὶ Σπαρτιῆται, ἐδέοντο γὰρ δεινῶς τοῦ Τεισαμενοῦ, πάντως
συνεχώρεόν οἱ. συγχωρησάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτι-
ητέων, οὕτω δὴ πέντε σφι μαντευόμενος ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους
Τεισαμενὸς ὁ Ἠλεῖος, γενόμενος Σπαρτιήτης, συγκαταιρέει.
μοῦνοι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Σπαρτιήτηισι
2 πολιῆται. οἱ δὲ πέντε ἀγῶνες οἵδε ἐγένοντο, εἷς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος
οὗτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταιῆισι, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέηι πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ
Ἀργείους γενόμενος, μετὰ δὲ ὁ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας
πλὴν Μαντινέων, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ †Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰσθμῶι†, ὕστατος
δὲ ὁ ἐν Τανάγρηι πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος·
36 οὗτος δὲ ὕστατος κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἀγώνων. οὗτος δὴ τότε
τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ὁ Τεισαμενὸς ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐμαν-
τεύετο ἐν τῆι Πλαταιίδι. τοῖσι μέν νυν Ἕλλησι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ
ἱρὰ ἀμυνομένοισι, διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὔ.
37 Μαρδονίωι δὲ προθυμεομένωι μάχης ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα
ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά, ἀμυνομένωι δὲ καὶ τούτωι καλά. καὶ γὰρ οὗ-
τος Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἱροῖσι ἐχρᾶτο, μάντιν ἔχων Ἡγησίστρατον, ἄν-
δρα Ἠλεῖόν τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων ἐόντα λογιμώτατον, τὸν δὴ
πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτιῆται λαβόντες ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτωι ὡς
2 πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτωι
τῶι κακῶι ἐχόμενος, ὥστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρό τε τοῦ
θανάτου πεισόμενος πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργον ἐργάσατο μέζον

34.2 αἰτεομένους Stein 35.2 Ἰσθμῶι AB: τῶι Ἰσθμῶι DRSVP: Ἰθώμηι Paulmier

λόγου. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλωι σιδηροδέτωι, ἐσενειχθέντος
κως σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο ἀνδρηιότατον ἔρ-
γον πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· σταθμησάμενος γὰρ ὅκως ἐξελεύσε-
ταί οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδός, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν ἑωυτοῦ. ταῦτα 3
δὲ ποιήσας, ὥστε φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων, διορύξας τὸν τοῖ-
χον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας
καταδύνων ἐς ὕλην καὶ αὐλιζόμενος, οὕτω ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίων
πανδημεὶ διζημένων τρίτηι εὐφρόνηι γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέηι, τοὺς δὲ
ἐν θώματι μεγάλωι ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης, ὁρῶντας τὸ ἡμί-
τομον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον κἀκεῖνον οὐ δυναμένους εὑρεῖν. τότε μὲν 4
οὕτω διαφυγὼν Λακεδαιμονίους καταφεύγει ἐς Τεγέην, ἐοῦσαν
οὐκ ἀρθμίην Λακεδαιμονίοισι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον· ὑγιὴς δὲ γενό-
μενος καὶ προσποιησάμενος ξύλινον πόδα κατεστήκεε ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης
Λακεδαιμονίοισι πολέμιος. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τέλος οἱ συνήνεικε τὸ
ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεκρημένον· ἥλω γὰρ μαντευό-
μενος ἐν Ζακύνθωι ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανε. ὁ μέν νυν θάνατος ὁ **38**
Ἡγησιστράτου ὕστερον ἐγένετο τῶν Πλαταιικῶν. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ
τῶι Ἀσωπῶι Μαρδονίωι μεμισθωμένος οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐθύετό τε καὶ
προεθυμέετο κατά τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ κατὰ τὸ κέρ-
δος.

Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε ὥστε μάχεσθαι οὔτε αὐτοῖσι Πέρσῃσι 2
οὔτε τοῖσι μετ' ἐκείνων ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων (εἶχον γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπ'
ἑωυτῶν μάντιν Ἱππόμαχον Λευκάδιον ἄνδρα), ἐπιρρεόντων δὲ
τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πλεύνων Τιμηγενίδης ὁ Ἕρπυος ἀνὴρ
Θηβαῖος συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίωι τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος
φυλάξαι, λέγων ὡς ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην
καὶ ὡς ἀπολάμψοιτο συχνούς. ἡμέραι δέ σφι ἀντικατημένοισι ἤδη **39**
ἐγεγόνεσαν ὀκτώ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος συνεβούλευε Μαρδονίωι. ὁ δὲ
μαθὼν τὴν παραίνεσιν εὖ ἔχουσαν, ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, πέμπει
τὴν ἵππον ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς Κιθαιρωνίδας αἳ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων
φέρουσι, τὰς Βοιωτοὶ μὲν Τρεῖς Κεφαλὰς καλέουσι, Ἀθηναῖοι
δὲ Δρυὸς Κεφαλάς. πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἱππόται οὐ μάτην ἀπίκο- 2
ντο· ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ πεδίον λαμβάνουσι ὑποζύγιά τε

37.4 συγκεκρημένον Reiske: συγκεκυρημένον ABCP: συγκεχωρημένον DSV

πεντακόσια, σιτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἳ εἵποντο τοῖσι ζεύγεσι. ἑλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἄγρην οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφειδέως ἐφόνευον, φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἀνθρώπου. ὡς δὲ ἅδην εἶχον κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἤλαυνον περιβαλόμενοι παρά τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

40 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἑτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχης ἄρξαι· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ἐπήισαν οἱ βάρβαροι πειρώμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι. ἡ μέντοι ἵππος ἡ Μαρδονίου αἰεὶ προσέκειτό τε καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἅτε μηδίζοντες μεγάλως, προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον καὶ αἰεὶ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι μάλα ἔσκον οἳ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετάς.

41 Μέχρι μέν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἐγίνετο τούτων. ὡς δὲ ἑνδεκάτη ἐγεγόνεε ἡμέρη ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταιῆισι, οἵ τε δὴ Ἕλληνες πολλῶι πλεῦνες ἐγεγόνεσαν καὶ Μαρδόνιος περιημέκτεε τῆι ἕδρηι, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον Μαρδόνιός τε ὁ Γωβρύεω καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, ὃς ἐν ὀλί-
2 γοισι Περσέων ἦν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρξηι. βουλευομένων δὲ αἵδε ἦσαν αἱ γνῶμαι, ἡ μὲν Ἀρταβάζου ὡς χρεὸν εἴη ἀναζεύξαντας τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἰέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Θηβαίων, ἔνθα σῖτόν τέ σφι ἐσενηνεῖχθαι πολλὸν καὶ χόρτον τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι, κατ' ἡσυχίην τε ἱζομένους διαπρήσσεσθαι ποιεῦν-
3 τας τάδε· ἔχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν πολλὸν μὲν ἐπίσημον, πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄσημον, πολλὸν δὲ ἄργυρόν τε καὶ ἐκπώματα· τούτων δὲ φειδομένους μηδενὸς διαπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, Ἑλλήνων δὲ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἐν τῆισι πόλισι, καὶ ταχέως σφέας παραδώ-
4 σειν τὴν ἐλευθερίην, μηδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας. τούτου μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαίων γνώμη, ὡς προειδότος πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου, Μαρδονίου δὲ ἰσχυροτέρη τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστέρη καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγινωσκομένη· δοκέειν τε γὰρ πολλῶι κρέσσονα εἶναι τὴν σφετέρην στρατιὴν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν

41.3 τούτων φειδομένους ABCTP

ταχίστην μηδὲ περιορᾶν συλλεγομένους ἔτι πλεῦνας τῶν συλλελεγμένων, τά τε σφάγια τὰ Ἡγησιστράτου ἐᾶν χαίρειν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμωι τῶι Περσέων χρεωμένους συμβάλλειν.

Τούτου δὲ οὕτω δικαιεῦντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδείς, ὥστε ἐκράτεε 42
τῆι γνώμηι· τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὗτος ἐκ βασιλέος, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμψάμενος ὦν τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ' ἑωυτοῦ ἐόντων Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰρώτα εἴ τι εἰδεῖεν λόγιον περὶ Περσέων ὡς διαφθερέονται ἐν τῆι Ἑλλάδι. σιγώντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων, τῶν μὲν 2
οὐκ εἰδότων τοὺς χρησμούς, τῶν δὲ εἰδότων μέν, ἐν ἀδείηι δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτός γε Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε· "ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς ἢ ἴστε οὐδὲν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐρέω ὡς εὖ ἐπιστάμενος. ἔστι λόγιον ὡς χρεόν ἐστι Πέρσας 3
ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαρπάσαι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενοι οὔτε ἴμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὔτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάζειν, ταύτης τε εἵνεκα τῆς αἰτίης οὐκ ἀπολεόμεθα. ὥστε ὑμέων ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι εὔνοοι ἐόντες Πέρσηισι, ἥδεσθε 4
τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων." ταῦτά σφι εἴπας δεύτερα ἐσήμηνε παραρτέεσθαί τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα ποιέεσθαι ὡς ἅμα ἡμέρηι τῆι ἐπιούσηι συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.

Τοῦτον δ' ἔγωγε τὸν χρησμόν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας 43
ἔχειν, ἐς Ἰλλυριούς τε καὶ τὸν Ἐγχελέων στρατὸν οἶδα πεποιημένον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἐς ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐστὶ πεποιημένα,

τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι καὶ Ἀσωπῶι λεχεποίηι 2
Ἑλλήνων σύνοδον καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ἰυγήν,
τῆι πολλοὶ πεσέονται ὑπὲρ λάχεσίν τε μόρον τε
τοξοφόρων Μήδων, ὅταν αἴσιμον ἦμαρ ἐπέλθηι.

ταῦτα μὲν καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοισι ἄλλα Μουσαίου ἔχοντα οἶδα ἐς Πέρσας. ὁ δὲ Θερμώδων ποταμὸς ῥέει μεταξὺ Τανάγρης τε καὶ Γλίσαντος.

42.4 ἐσήμαινε ABCTP

44 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ παραίνεσιν
τὴν ἐκ Μαρδονίου νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐς φυλακὰς ἐτάσσοντο. ὡς δὲ
πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς προελήλατο καὶ ἡσυχίη τε ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ
στρατόπεδα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἐν ὕπνωι, τηνικαῦτα
προσελάσας ἵππωι πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς τὰς Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξαν-
δρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων,
2 ἐδίζητο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. τῶν δὲ φυλάκων οἱ μὲν
πλεῦνες παρέμενον, οἱ δ' ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐλθόντες
δὲ ἔλεγον ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἥκοι ἐπ' ἵππου ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
τοῦ Μήδων, ὃς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν παραγυμνοῖ ἔπος, στρατηγοὺς
45 δὲ ὀνομάζων ἐθέλειν φησὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα
ἤκουσαν, αὐτίκα εἵποντο ἐς τὰς φυλακάς. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ ἔλεγε
Ἀλέξανδρος τάδε· "ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραθήκην ὑμῖν τὰ ἔπεα τάδε
τίθεμαι, ἀπόρρητα ποιεύμενος πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλον
ἢ Παυσανίην, μή με καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ
2 μεγάλως ἐκηδόμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. αὐτός τε γὰρ Ἕλλην
γένος εἰμὶ τὠρχαῖον, καὶ ἀντ' ἐλευθέρης δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν
ἐθέλοιμι ὁρᾶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λέγω δὲ ὦν ὅτι Μαρδονίωι τε καὶ τῆι
στρατιῆι τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι· πάλαι γὰρ
ἂν ἐμάχεσθε. νῦν δέ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια ἐᾶν χαίρειν, ἅμα
ἡμέρηι δὲ διαφαυσκούσηι συμβολὴν ποιέεσθαι· καταρρώδηκε γὰρ
μὴ πλεῦνες συλλεχθῆτε, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα ἑτοιμάζεσθε.
ἢν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάληται τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρδόνιος καὶ μὴ ποιῆ-
ται, λιπαρέετε μένοντες· ὀλιγέων γάρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία.
3 ἢν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατὰ νόον τελευτήσηι, μνησθῆναί τινα
χρὴ καὶ ἐμεῦ ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι, ὃς Ἑλλήνων εἵνεκα ἔργον οὕτω
παράβολον ἔργασμαι ὑπὸ προθυμίης, ἐθέλων ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι τὴν
διάνοιαν τὴν Μαρδονίου, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιπέσωσι ὑμῖν ἐξαίφνης οἱ βάρ-
βαροι μὴ προσδεκομένοισί κω. εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών."
ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν
ἑωυτοῦ τάξιν.

46 Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας
ἔλεγον Παυσανίηι τά περ ἤκουσαν Ἀλεξάνδρου. ὁ δὲ τούτωι
2 τῶι λόγωι καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας ἔλεγε τάδε· "ἐπεὶ τοί-
νυν ἐς ἠῶ ἡ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ὑμέας μὲν χρεόν ἐστι τοὺς

Ἀθηναίους στῆναι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας, ἡμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Βοιωτούς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ' ὑμέας τεταγμένους Ἑλλήνων, τῶνδε εἵνεκα· ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μαχεσάμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄπειροί τέ εἰμεν καὶ ἀδαέες τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν· Σπαρτιητέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς πεπείρηται Μήδων, ἡμεῖς δὲ
Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἔμπειροί εἰμεν. ἀλλ' ἀναλαβόντας τὰ 3
ὅπλα χρεόν ἐστι ἰέναι ὑμέας μὲν ἐς τόδε τὸ κέρας, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον." πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε· "καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἐπείτε εἴδομεν κατ' ὑμέας τασσομένους τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν νόωι ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τά περ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀρρωδέομεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἡδέες γένωνται οἱ λόγοι. ἐπεὶ δ' ὦν αὐτοὶ ἐμνήσθητε, καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἕτοιμοί εἰμεν ποιέειν ταῦτα."
ὡς δ' ἤρεσκε ἀμφοτέροισι ταῦτα, ἠώς τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλ- 47
λάσσοντο τὰς τάξις. γνόντες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ ποιεύμενον ἐξαγορεύουσι Μαρδονίωι· ὁ δ' ἐπείτε ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο, παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γινόμενον ὁ Παυσανίης, γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ λανθάνει, ὀπίσω ἦγε τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας· ὣς δ' αὔτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξις, πέμψας ὁ 48
Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἔλεγε τάδε· "ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἶναι ἄνδρες ἄριστοι ὑπὸ τῶν τῆιδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐκπαγλεομένων ὡς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἢ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἢ
αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἦν οὐδὲν ἀληθές· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ συμ- 2
μῖξαι ἡμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ στάσιν ἐκλείποντας ὑμέας εἴδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίοισί τε τὴν πρόπειραν ποιευμένους αὐτούς τε ἀντία δούλων τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους.
ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα, ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν 3
ἐψεύσθημεν· προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος ὡς δὴ πέμψετε ἐς ἡμέας κήρυκα προκαλεύμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μούνοισι Πέρσῃσι μάχεσθαι, ἄρτιοι ἐόντες ποιέειν ταῦτα οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας

47 τὸ εὐωνύμον DRSV   48.1 ἐκπλαγεομένων DRSV
48.3 ⟨μοῦνοι⟩ μούνοισι Koen

ὑμέας εὕρομεν ἀλλὰ πτώσσοντας μᾶλλον. νῦν ὦν, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς
4 ἤρξατε τούτου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξομεν. τί δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμεῖς, ἐπείτε δεδόξωσθε εἶναι ἄριστοι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν
βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς, ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους ἀριθμὸν ἐμαχεσάμεθα; καὶ ἢν
μὲν δοκῆι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὦν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων
ὕστεροι· εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκέοι ἀλλ' ἡμέας μούνους ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς
δὲ διαμαχεσώμεθα· ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τούτους τῶι
49 ἅπαντι στρατοπέδωι νικᾶν." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας τε καὶ ἐπισχὼν
χρόνον, ὥς οἱ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνετο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω,
ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐσήμαινε Μαρδονίωι τὰ καταλαβόντα. ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς
γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαρθεὶς ψυχρῆι νίκηι ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς
2 Ἕλληνας. ὡς δὲ ἐπήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται, ἐσίνοντο πᾶσαν τὴν
στρατιὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακοντίζοντές τε καὶ ἐστοξεύοντες ὥστε
ἱπποτοξόται τε ἐόντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι· τήν τε κρήνην
τὴν Γαργαφίην, ἀπ' ἧς ὑδρεύετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἑλληνικόν,
3 συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. ἦσαν μέν νυν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην
Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μοῦνοι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι ἡ μὲν
κρήνη πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσω-
πὸς ἀγχοῦ· ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην
ἐφοίτων· ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γάρ σφι οὐκ ἐξῆν ὕδωρ φορέεσθαι ὑπό
τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοξευμάτων.
50 Τούτου δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί,
ἅτε τοῦ τε ὕδατος στερηθείσης τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἵπ-
που ταρασσομένης, συνελέχθησαν περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ
ἄλλων, ἐλθόντες παρὰ Παυσανίην ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας. ἄλλα γὰρ
τούτων τοιούτων ἐόντων μᾶλλόν σφεας ἐλύπεε· οὔτε γὰρ σιτία
εἶχον ἔτι, οἵ τέ σφεων ὀπέωνες ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον
ὡς ἐπισιτιεύμενοι ἀπεκεκληίατο ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου, οὐ δυνάμενοι
51 ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. βουλευομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι στρατη-
γοῖσι ἔδοξε, ἢν ὑπερβάλωνται ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι
συμβολὴν μὴ ποιεύμενοι, ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἰέναι· ἡ δέ ἐστι ἀπὸ
τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης, ἐπ' ἧι ἐστρα-
τοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα πρὸ τῆς Πλα-
2 ταιέων πόλιος. νῆσος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἠπείρωι· σχιζόμενος ὁ

48.4 διαμαχεσόμεθα DRSV

ποταμὸς ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ῥέει κάτω ἐς τὸ πεδίον,
διέχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ῥέεθρα ὅσον περ τρία στάδια, καὶ
ἔπειτα συμμίσγει ἐς τὠυτό· οὔνομα δέ οἱ Ὠερόη. θυγατέρα
δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ 3
τὸν χῶρον ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστῆναι, ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι ἔχωσι
χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνωι καὶ οἱ ἱππέες σφέας μὴ σινοίατο ὥσπερ κα-
τιθὺ ἐόντων. μετακινέεσθαί τε ἐδόκεε τότε ἐπεὰν τῆς νυκτὸς
ἦι δευτέρη φυλακή, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίατο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξορμωμένους
καί σφεας ἑπόμενοι ταράσσοιεν οἱ ἱππόται. ἀπικομένων δὲ 4
ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον, τὸν δὴ ἡ Ἀσωπὶς Ὠερόη περισχίζεται
ῥέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐδόκεε τοὺς
ἡμίσεας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ὡς
ἀναλάβοιεν τοὺς ὀπέωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σιτία οἰχομένους· ἦσαν
γὰρ ἐν τῶι Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι.

Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι κείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν προ- 52
σκειμένης τῆς ἵππου εἶχον πόνον ἄτρυτον· ὡς δὲ ἥ τε ἡμέρη ἔλ-
ηγε καὶ οἱ ἱππέες ἐπέπαυντο, νυκτὸς δὴ γινομένης καὶ ἐούσης
τῆς ὥρης ἐς τὴν δὴ συνέκειτό σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα
ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἐς μὲν τὸν χῶρον ἐς τὸν
συνέκειτο οὐκ ἐν νόωι ἔχοντες, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐκινήθησαν, ἔφευγον
ἄσμενοι τὴν ἵππον πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ
ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ τὸ Ἥραιον· τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιός ἐστι τῆς
Πλαταιέων, εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης ἀπέ-
χον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὰ ὅπλα. καὶ οἱ μὲν 53
περὶ τὸ Ἥραιον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, Παυσανίης δὲ ὁρῶν σφέας
ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρήγγελλε καὶ τοῖσι
Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα ἰέναι κατὰ τοὺς ἄλ-
λους τοὺς προϊόντας, νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἰέναι ἐς τὸν
συνεθήκαντο. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄρτιοι ἦσαν τῶν ταξιάρχων 2
πείθεσθαι Παυσανίηι, Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ὁ Πολιάδεω λοχηγέων τοῦ
Πιτανήτεω λόχου οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους φεύξεσθαι οὐδὲ ἑκὼν εἶναι
αἰσχυνέειν τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐθώμαζέ τε ὁρῶν τὸ ποιεύμενον ἅτε οὐ
παραγενόμενος τῶι προτέρωι λόγωι. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίης τε καὶ ὁ 3
Εὐρυάναξ δεινὸν μὲν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι ἐκεῖνον σφίσι,
δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι κείνου ταῦτα νενωμένου ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν λόχον
τὸν Πιτανήτην, μὴ ἢν ἀπολίπωσι ποιεῦντες τὰ συνεθήκαντο τοῖσι

ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι, ἀπόληται ὑπολειφθεὶς αὐτός τε Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ
4 οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον
τὸ Λακωνικὸν καὶ ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντές μιν ὡς οὐ χρεὸν εἴη ταῦτα
ποιέειν.

54 Καὶ οἱ μὲν παρηγόρεον Ἀμομφάρετον μοῦνον Λακεδαιμονίων
τε καὶ Τεγεητέων λελειμμένον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐποίευν τοιάδε·
εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ
Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόν-
2 των. ὡς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπεμπον σφέων ἱππέα ὀψό-
μενόν τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειροῖεν οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, εἴτε καὶ τὸ
παράπαν μὴ διανοεῦνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπειρέσθαι τε Παυ-
55 σανίην τὸ χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ὁ κῆρυξ ἐς τοὺς
Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα τέ σφεας κατὰ χώρην τεταγμένους καὶ ἐς
νείκεα ἀπιγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρώτους. ὡς γὰρ δὴ παρηγόρεον
τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὅ τε Εὐρυάναξ καὶ ὁ Παυσανίης μὴ κινδυνεύειν
μένοντας μούνους Λακεδαιμονίους, οὔκως ἔπειθον, ἐς ὃ ἐς νείκεά
τε συμπεσόντες ἀπίκατο καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρίσ-
2 τατό σφι ἀπιγμένος. νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρον
ἀμφοτέρῃσι τῇσι χερσὶ καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τοῦ Παυσανίεω
ταύτηι τῆι ψήφωι ψηφίζεσθαι ἔφη μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους
[λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους]. ὁ δὲ μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα καλέων
ἐκεῖνον πρός τε τὸν Ἀθηναίων κήρυκα ἐπειρωτῶντα τὰ ἐντε-
ταλμένα λέγειν [ὁ Παυσανίης] ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγ-
ματα, ἐχρήιζέ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρῆσαί τε πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς
56 καὶ ποιέειν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τά περ ἂν καὶ σφεῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπαλ-
λάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

Τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς ἠὼς κατελάμβανε,
ἐν τούτωι τῶι χρόνωι κατήμενος ὁ Παυσανίης, οὐ δοκέων τὸν
Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστιχόν-
των, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημήνας ἀπῆγε διὰ τῶν κολωνῶν τοὺς
2 λοιποὺς πάντας· εἵποντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεῆται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέν-
τες ἤισαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὄχ-
θων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρείης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, φοβεόμενοι

55.1 Λακεδαιμονίων M
55.2 πρός τε del. Krueger
55.2 λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους del. Werfer
55.2 ὁ Παυσανίης del. Krueger

τὴν ἵππον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον. Ἀμομ- 57
φάρετος δὲ ἀρχήν γε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Παυσανίην τολμήσειν
σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν περιείχετο αὐτοῦ μένοντας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν
τάξιν· προτερεόντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Παυσανίηι, καταδόξας αὐ-
τοὺς ἰθέηι τέχνηι ἀπολείπειν αὐτόν, ἀναλαβόντα τὸν λόχον τὰ
ὅπλα ἦγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στῖφος. τὸ δὲ ἀπελθὸν ὅσον 2
τε δέκα στάδια ἀνέμενε τὸν Ἀμομφαρέτου λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν
Μολόεντα ἱδρυμένον Ἀργιόπιόν τε χῶρον καλεόμενον, τῆι καὶ
Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἧσται· ἀνέμενε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα ἢν
μὴ ἀπολείπηι τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῶι ἐτετάχατο ὁ Ἀμομφάρετός τε
καὶ ὁ λόχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένωσι, βοηθέοι ὀπίσω παρ' ἐκείνους.
καὶ οἵ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον παρεγίνοντό σφι καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ 3
τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα. οἱ γὰρ ἱππόται ἐποίευν οἷον
καὶ ἐώθεσαν ποιέειν αἰεί, ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν χῶρον κεινὸν ἐν τῶι ἐτε-
τάχατο οἱ Ἕλληνες τῆισι προτέρηισι ἡμέρηισι, ἤλαυνον τοὺς
ἵππους αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω καὶ ἅμα καταλαβόντες προσεκέατό σφι.

Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποιχομένους ὑπὸ 58
νύκτα εἶδέ τε τὸν χῶρον ἔρημον, καλέσας τὸν Ληρισαῖον Θώρηκα
καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεοὺς αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυδήιον ἔλεγε·
"ὦ παῖδες Ἀλεύεω, ἔτι τί λέξετε τάδε ὁρῶντες ἔρημα; ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ 2
πλησιόχωροι ἐλέγετε Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ
ἄνδρας εἶναι τὰ πολέμια πρώτους· τοὺς πρότερόν τε μετισταμέ-
νους ἐκ τῆς τάξιος εἴδετε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα
καὶ οἱ πάντες ὁρῶμεν διαδράντας· διέδεξάν τε, ἐπεί σφεας ἔδεε
πρὸς τοὺς ἀψευδέως ἀρίστους ἀνθρώπων μάχηι διακριθῆναι, ὅτι
οὐδένες ἄρα ἐόντες ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι ἐοῦσι Ἕλλησι ἐναπεδεικνύατο. καὶ 3
ὑμῖν μὲν ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἀπείροισι πολλὴ ἔκ γε ἐμεῦ ἐγίνετο συγ-
γνώμη, ἐπαινεόντων τούτους τοῖσί τι καὶ συνηιδέατε· Ἀρταβά-
ζου δὲ θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεύμην τὸ καταρρωδῆσαι Λακεδαι-
μονίους καταρρωδήσαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην,
ὡς χρεὸν εἴη ἀναζεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰέναι ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων
ἄστυ πολιορκησομένους· τὴν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμεῦ βασιλεὺς πεύσεται.
καὶ τούτων μὲν ἑτέρωθι ἔσται λόγος· νῦν δὲ ἐκείνοισι ταῦτα 4

57.1 γε Schweighäuser: τε codd. 57.2 τέσσερα Pingel 58.2 ἅπαντες Pingel

ποιεῦσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστί, ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ καταλαμ-
φθέντες δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας.'
59 ταῦτα εἴπας ἦγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμωι διαβάντας τὸν Ἀσωπὸν
κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς δὴ ἀποδιδρησκόντων, ἐπεῖχέ τε
ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεήτας μούνους· Ἀθηναίους γὰρ
2 τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχθων οὐ κατώρα. Πέρ-
σας δὲ ὁρῶντες ὁρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν
βαρβαρικῶν τελέων ἄρχοντες αὐτίκα πάντες ἦραν τὰ σημήια καὶ
ἐδίωκον ὡς ποδῶν ἕκαστος εἶχον, οὔτε κόσμωι οὐδενὶ κοσμηθέντες
οὔτε τάξι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν βοῆι τε καὶ ὁμίλωι ἐπήισαν ὡς ἀναρπασό-
μενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας.
60 Παυσανίης δέ, ὡς προσέκειτο ἡ ἵππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς
Ἀθηναίους ἱππέα λέγει τάδε· 'ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγῶνος μεγίσ-
του προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἢ δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
προδεδόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἡμεῖς τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ
ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα διαδράντων.
2 νῦν ὦν δέδοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸ ποιητέον ἡμῖν, ἀμυνομένους γὰρ
τῆι δυνάμεθα ἄριστα περιστέλλειν ἀλλήλους. εἰ μέν νυν ἐς ὑμέας
ὅρμησε ἀρχὴν ἡ ἵππος, χρῆν δὴ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἡμέων τὴν
Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας βοηθέειν ὑμῖν· νῦν δέ, ἐς ἡμέας
γὰρ ἅπασα κεχώρηκε, δίκαιοί ἐστε ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην
3 μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων ἀμυνέοντες ἰέναι. εἰ δ' ἄρα αὐτοὺς ὑμέας
καταλελάβηκε ἀδύνατόν τι βοηθέειν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς τοξότας
ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα
τόνδε πόλεμον ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοισι, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα
61 ἐσακούειν.' ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὁρμέατο βοηθέειν
καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν· καί σφι ἤδη στίχουσι ἐπιτίθενται οἱ
ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος γενομένων, ὥστε καὶ
μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοηθῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενόν σφεας ἐλύπεε.
2 οὕτω δὴ μουνωθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεῆται, ἐόντες σὺν
ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν οἱ μὲν πεντακισμύριοι, Τεγεῆται δὲ τρισχίλιοι
(οὗτοι γὰρ οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων), ἐσφαγιά-
ζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίωι καὶ τῆι στρατιῆι τῆι παρε-
3 ούσηι. καὶ οὐ γάρ σφι ἐγίνετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστά, ἔπιπτον
δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τούτωι τῶι χρόνωι πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῶι πλεῦνες

ἐτρωματίζοντο· φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπίεσαν τῶν
τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως, οὕτω ὥστε πιεζομένων τῶν Σπαρ-
τιητέων καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Παυ-
σανίην πρὸς τὸ Ἥραιον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν,
χρηίζοντα μηδαμῶς σφέας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος. ταῦτα δ' ἔτι **62**
τούτου ἐπικαλεομένου προεξαναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεῆται
ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα
μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Παυσανίεω ἐγίνετο θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια
χρηστά. ὡς δὲ χρόνωι κοτὲ ἐγίνετο, ἐχώρεον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς
Πέρσας, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες.
Ἐγίνετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχη. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώ- 2
κεε, ἤδη ἐγίνετο μάχη ἰσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ χρόνον
ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκοντο ἐς ὠθισμόν· τὰ γὰρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμ-
βανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. λήματι μέν νυν καὶ ῥώμηι οὐκ 3
ἥσσονες ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἄνοπλοι δὲ ἐόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες
ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι σοφίην. προεξαΐσσοντες δὲ
κατ' ἕνα καὶ δέκα καὶ πλεῦνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι
ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας καὶ διεφθείροντο. τῆι δὲ ἐτύγχανε **63**
αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ' ἵππου τε μαχόμενος λευκοῦ ἔχων τε
περὶ ἑωυτὸν λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους, ταύτηι
δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπίεσαν. ὅσον μέν νυν χρόνον
Μαρδόνιος περιῆν, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον
πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ὡς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ 2
περὶ ἐκεῖνον τεταγμένον, ἐὸν ἰσχυρότατον, ἔπεσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο καὶ εἶξαν τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. πλεῖστον γάρ
σφεας ἐδηλέετο ἡ ἐσθὴς ἔρημος ἐοῦσα ὅπλων· πρὸς γὰρ ὁπλίτας
ἐόντες γυμνῆτες ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο. ἐνθαῦτα ἥ τε δίκη τοῦ φό- **64**
νου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτηισι ἐκ
Μαρδονίου ἐπετελέετο καὶ νίκην ἀναιρέεται καλλίστην ἁπασέων
τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Παυσανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω·
(τῶν δὲ κατύπερθέ οἱ προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται ἐς 2
Λεωνίδην· ὡυτοὶ γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἐόντες.) ἀποθνήισκει δὲ
Μαρδόνιος ὑπὸ Ἀειμνήστου ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτηι λογίμου, ὃς

64.2 Ἀειμνήστου CP; Aristodemus, *FGrHist* 104 F 1, §2.5: Ἀριμνήστου DRSV: Ἀϊμνήστου AB

χρόνωι ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἄνδρας τριηκοσίους
συνέβαλε ἐν Στενυκλήρωι πολέμου ἐόντος Μεσσηνίοισι πᾶσι καὶ
65 αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι. ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῆισι οἱ Πέρσαι
ὡς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔφευγον οὐδένα κόσμον
ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἑωυτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον τὸ
2 ἐποιήσαντο ἐν μοίρηι τῆι Θηβαΐδι. θῶμα δέ μοι ὅκως παρὰ τῆς
Δήμητρος τὸ ἄλσος μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἷς ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε
ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανών, περί τε τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι
ἐν τῶι βεβήλωι ἔπεσον. δοκέω δέ, εἴ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων
δοκέειν δεῖ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτή σφεας οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας [τὸ ἱρὸν]
66 τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ἀνάκτορον. αὕτη μέν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον
ἐγένετο.

Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἠρέσκετο κατ'
ἀρχὰς λειπομένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ τότε πολλὰ
ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν ἤνυε, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἐῶν· ἐποίησέ τε αὐτὸς
τοιάδε ὡς οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖσι πρήγμασι τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου
2 ποιευμένοισι. τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος (εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν
οὐκ ὀλίγην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων περὶ
ἑωυτόν), τούτους, ὅκως ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγίνετο, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος
τὰ ἔμελλε ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἦγε κατηρτισμένους,
παραγγείλας κατὰ τὠυτὸ ἰέναι πάντας τῆι ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξηγῆται,
3 ὅκως ἂν αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα. ταῦτα παραγγείλας ὡς
ἐς μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατόν· προτερέων δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὥρα
καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας· οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν κόσ-
μον κατηγέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἐτρόχαζε φεύγων οὔτε ἐς τὸ
ξύλινον τεῖχος οὔτε ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων τεῖχος ἀλλ' ἐς Φωκέας, ἐθέλων
67 ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπικέσθαι. καὶ δὴ οὗτοι μὲν
ταύτηι ἐτράποντο.

Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος ἐθελοκακεόντων
Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν· οἱ γὰρ μηδί-
ζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων, οὗτοι εἶχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην μαχό-
μενοί τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες, οὕτω ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν
οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἔπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· ὡς δὲ

65.2 τὸ ἱρόν secl. Valckenaer 66.2 κατηρτισμένως DRV[c]

ἐτράποντο καὶ οὗτοι, ἔφευγον ἐς τὰς Θήβας, οὐ τῆι περ οἱ Πέρ-
σαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς ὅμιλος οὔτε διαμαχεσάμενος
οὐδενὶ οὔτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος ἔφευγον. δηλοῖ τέ μοι ὅτι πάντα 68
τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἤρτητο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὗ-
τοι πρὶν ἢ καὶ συμμῖξαι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι ἔφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς
Πέρσας ὥρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἔφευγον πλὴν τῆς ἵππου τῆς τε
ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίης· αὕτη δὲ τοσαῦτα προσωφέλεε τοὺς φεύ-
γοντας, αἰεί τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄγχιστα ἐοῦσα ἀπέργουσά
τε τοὺς φιλίους φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ νικῶντες εἵποντο τοὺς Ξέρξεω διώκοντές τε καὶ
φονεύοντες. ἐν δὲ τούτωι τῶι γινομένωι φόβωι ἀγγέλλεται 69
τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι τοῖσι περὶ τὸ Ἥραιον τεταγμένοισι καὶ
ἀπογενομένοισι τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχη τε γέγονε καὶ νικῶιεν οἱ μετὰ
Παυσανίεω· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες, οἱ
μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπωρείης καὶ τῶν κολ-
ωνῶν τὴν φέρουσαν ἄνω ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ
Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλειασίους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν
ὁδῶν. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο οἱ Μεγαρέες καὶ 2
Φλειάσιοι, ἀπιδόντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππόται ἐπειγομέ-
νους οὐδένα κόσμον ἤλαυνον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους, τῶν ἱπ-
πάρχεε Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου. ἐσπεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν
αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατήραξαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν
Κιθαιρῶνα. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγωι ἀπώλοντο. 70

Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος, ὡς κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ ξύλινον
τεῖχος, ἔφθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες πρὶν ἢ τοὺς Λακεδαι-
μονίους ἀπικέσθαι, ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐφράξαντο ὡς ἠδυνέατο ἄριστα
τὸ τεῖχος. προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεστήκεέ σφι
τειχομαχίη ἐρρωμενεστέρη. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, 2
οἱ δ' ἠμύνοντο καὶ πολλῶι πλέον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥστε
οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχέειν· ὡς δέ σφι Ἀθηναῖοι προσῆλθον,
οὕτω δὴ ἰσχυρὴ ἐγίνετο τειχομαχίη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν.
τέλος δὲ ἀρετῆι τε καὶ λιπαρίηι ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τείχεος
καὶ ἤριπον, τῆι δὴ ἐσεχέοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον 3

69.1 περὶ τὸ Ἥραιον τεταγμένοισι DRSV: τεταγμένοισι περὶ τὸ Ἥραιον ABCTMP

Τεγεῆται ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου οὗτοι ἦσαν
οἱ διαρπάσαντες, τά τε ἄλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἵπ-
πων, ἐοῦσαν χαλκέην πᾶσαν καὶ θέης ἀξίην. τὴν μέν νυν φάτνην
ταύτην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης
Τεγεῆται, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὠυτό, ὅσα περ ἔλαβον, ἐσήνεικαν τοῖσι
4 Ἕλλησι. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἔτι στῖφος ἐποιήσαντο πεσόντος
τοῦ τείχεος, οὔτε τις αὐτῶν ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο, ἀλύκταζόν τε οἷα
ἐν ὀλίγωι χώρωι πεφοβημένοι τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατειλη-
5 μέναι ἀνθρώπων. παρῆν τε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι φονεύειν οὕτω ὥστε
τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ, καταδεουσέων τεσσέρων τὰς ἔχων
Ἀρτάβαζος ἔφευγε, τῶν λοιπῶν μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι.
Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῆι συμ-
βολῆι εἷς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, Τεγεητέων δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ
δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.

71 Ἠρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζὸς μὲν ὁ Περσέων, ἵππος
δὲ ἡ Σακέων, ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδόνιος· Ἑλλήνων δέ, ἀγαθῶν
γενομένων καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερεβάλοντο ἀρετῆι
2 Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἄλλωι μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω ἀποσημήνασθαι (ἅπαν-
τες γὰρ οὗτοι τοὺς κατ' ἑωυτοὺς ἐνίκων), ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσ-
χυρότατον προσηνείχθησαν καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἄρισ-
τος ἐγένετο μακρῶι Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας,
ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων μοῦνος τῶν τριηκοσίων σωθεὶς εἶχε ὄνει-
δος καὶ ἀτιμίην· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἠρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιός τε
3 καὶ Φιλοκύων καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος Σπαρτιῆται. καίτοι, γενομένης
λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος, ἔγνωσαν οἱ παραγενόμενοι
Σπαρτιητέων Ἀριστόδημον μὲν βουλόμενον φανερῶς ἀποθανεῖν
ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης οἱ αἰτίης, λυσσῶντά τε καὶ ἐκλείποντα τὴν
τάξιν ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα, Ποσειδώνιον δὲ οὐ βουλό-
μενον ἀποθνήισκειν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· τοσούτωι τοῦτον
4 εἶναι ἀμείνω. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ φθόνωι ἂν εἴποιεν· οὗτοι δὲ
τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων
ἐν ταύτηι τῆι μάχηι τίμιοι ἐγένοντο, Ἀριστόδημος δὲ βουλόμε-
72 νος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην οὐκ ἐτιμήθη. οὗτοι

71.2 Σπαρτιῆται Krueger: (ὁ) Σπαρτιήτης codd.: ὁ Πιτανήτης Stein

μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῆισι ὀνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο. Καλλικράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης ἀπέθανε, ἐλθὼν ἀνὴρ κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μοῦνον αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· ὃς, ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγιάζετο Παυσανίης, κατήμενος ἐν τῆι τάξι ἐτρωματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά. καὶ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, ὁ δ' ἐξενηνειγμένος ἐδυσθανάτεέ τε 2
καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα οὐ μέλειν οἱ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνήισκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῆι χειρὶ καὶ ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστί οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένον ἔργον ἑωυτοῦ ἄξιον προθυμευμένου ἀποδέξασθαι.

Ἀθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκιμῆσαι Σωφάνης ὁ Εὐτυχίδεω, ἐκ 73
δήμου Δεκελεῆθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν κοτε ἐργασαμένων ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι. ὡς 2
γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἑλένης κομιδὴν Τυνδαρίδαι ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ πλήθεϊ καὶ ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ εἰδότες ἵνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἡ Ἑλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν Δέκελον ἀχθόμενόν τε τῆι Θησέος ὕβρι καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ πάσηι τῆι Ἀθηναίων χώρηι, ἐξηγησάμενόν σφι τὸ πᾶν πρῆγμα κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας, τὰς δὴ Τιτακός, ἐὼν αὐτόχθων, καταπροδιδοῖ Τυνδαρίδηισι. τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεῦσι ἐν Σπάρτηι ἀπὸ 3
τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελείη τε καὶ προεδρίη διατελέει ἐς τόδε αἰεὶ ἔτι ἐοῦσα, οὕτω ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι, σινομένων τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελέης ἀπέχεσθαι. τούτου τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθη- 74
ναίων διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ζωστῆρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρεε χαλκέηι ἁλύσι δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν σιδηρέην, τὴν ὅκως πελάσειε ἀπικνεόμενος τοῖσι πολεμίοισι βαλλέσκετο, ἵνα δή μιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινῆσαι μὴ δυναίατο· γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἐναντίων ἐδέδοκτο τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὕτω διώκειν. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω λέγεται, ὁ 2
δ' ἕτερος τῶν λόγων τῶι πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβατέων λέγεται, ὡς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης

72.2 Ἀείμνηστον S

ἐφόρεε ἐπίσημον ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην
75 σιδηρέην. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Σωφάνεϊ λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασ-
μένον, ὅτε περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων Αἴγιναν Εὐρυβάτην τὸν
Ἀργεῖον, ἄνδρα πεντάεθλον, ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ
Σωφάνεα χρόνωι ὕστερον τούτων κατέλαβε ἄνδρα γενόμενον
ἀγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἅμα Λεάγρωι τῶι Γλαύκωνος,
ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἠδωνῶν ἐν Δάτωι περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν
χρυσέων μαχόμενον.

76 Ὡς δὲ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐν Πλαταιῆισι κατέστρωντο οἱ βάρβαροι,
ἐνθαῦτά σφι ἐπῆλθε γυνὴ αὐτόμολος. ἣ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθε ἀπολωλό-
τας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐοῦσα παλλακὴ
Φαρανδάτεος τοῦ Τεάσπιος ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, κοσμησαμένη χρυσῶι
πολλῶι καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἀμφίπολοι καὶ ἐσθῆτι τῆι καλλίστηι τῶν
παρεουσέων, καταβᾶσα ἐκ τῆς ἁρμαμάξης ἐχώρεε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαι-
μονίους ἔτι ἐν τῆισι φονῆισι ἐόντας, ὁρῶσα δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα
διέποντα Παυσανίην, πρότερόν τε τὸ οὔνομα ἐξεπισταμένη καὶ
τὴν πάτρην ὥστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα, ἔγνω τε τὸν Παυσανίην
2 καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων ἔλεγε τάδε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης,
ῥῦσαί με τὴν ἱκέτιν αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης. σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τόδε
ὤνησας τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὄπιν
ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κώιη, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ
Ἀνταγόρεω. βίηι δέ με λαβὼν ἐκ Κῶ εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβε-
3 ται τοῖσδε· "γύναι, θάρσει καὶ ὡς ἱκέτις καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τούτωι
τυγχάνεις ἀληθέα λέγουσα καὶ εἶς θυγάτηρ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ
Κώιου, ὃς ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐὼν τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους
τοὺς χώρους οἰκημένων." ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας τότε μεν ἐπέτρεψε τῶν
ἐφόρων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἴγιναν, ἐς τὴν
αὐτὴ ἤθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

77 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπίκοντο
Μαντινέες ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι· μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὕστεροι ἥκουσι
τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην ἄξιοί τε ἔφασαν
2 εἶναι σφέας ζημιῶσαι. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς
μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας, τούτους ἐδίωκον μέχρι Θεσσαλίης·

74.2 ἐπίσημον om. ABCTMP
76.1 γυνὴ ἐπῆλθε RSV   76.3 ἀπικέσθαι om. DRSV

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν. οἱ δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντες
ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῆς ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς.
μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἧκον Ἠλεῖοι, καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ Ἠλεῖοι τοῖσι 3
Μαντινεῦσι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἀπελθόντες
δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐδίωξαν. τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ
Ἠλείους τοσαῦτα.

Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῆισι ἐν τῶι στρατοπέδωι τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἦν 78
Λάμπων ὁ Πυθέω, Αἰγινητέων ⟨ἐὼν⟩ τὰ πρῶτα· ὃς ἀνοσιώτα-
τον ἔχων λόγον ἵετο πρὸς Παυσανίην, ἀπικόμενος δὲ σπουδῆι
ἔλεγε τάδε· "ὦ παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργασταί τοι ὑπερφυὲς μέ- 2
γαθός τε καὶ κάλλος, καί τοι θεὸς παρέδωκε ῥυσάμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα
κλέος καταθέσθαι μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ
λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοισι ποίησον, ὅκως λόγος τέ σε ἔχηι ἔτι μέζων
καί τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα
ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Λεωνίδεω γὰρ ἀποθανόντος 3
ἐν Θερμοπύληισι Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Ξέρξης ἀποταμόντες τὴν κε-
φαλὴν ἀνεσταύρωσαν· τῶι σὺ τὴν ὁμοίην ἀποδιδοὺς ἔπαινον ἕξ-
εις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητέων, αὖτις δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν
ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· Μαρδόνιον γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίσας τετιμώρησαι
ἐς πάτρων τὸν σὸν Λεωνίδην." ὁ μὲν δοκέων χαρίζεσθαι ἔλεγε
τάδε, ὁ δ' ἀνταμείβετο τοῖσδε· "ὦ ξεῖνε Αἰγινῆτα, τὸ μὲν εὐνοέειν 79
τε καὶ προορᾶν ἄγαμαί σευ, γνώμης μέντοι ἡμάρτηκας χρηστῆς·
ἐξάρας γάρ με ὑψοῦ καὶ τὴν πάτρην καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μηδὲν
κατέβαλες παραινέων νεκρῶι λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἢν ταῦτα ποιέω,
φὰς ἄμεινόν με ἀκούσεσθαι· τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάροισι ποιέειν
ἤ περ Ἕλλησι· κἀκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὦν τούτου εἵνεκα 2
μήτε Αἰγινήτηισι ἅδοιμι μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτα ἀρέσκεται, ἀποχρᾶι
δέ μοι Σπαρτιήτηισι ἀρεσκόμενον ὅσια μὲν ποιέειν, ὅσια δὲ καὶ
λέγειν. Λεωνίδηι δέ, τῶι με κελεύεις τιμωρῆσαι, φημὶ μεγάλως
τετιμωρῆσθαι, ψυχῆισί τε τῆισι τῶνδε ἀναριθμήτοισι τετίμηται
αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύληισι τελευτήσαντες. σὺ μέν-
τοι ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοιόνδε μήτε προσέλθηις ἔμοιγε μήτε συμ-
βουλεύσηις, χάριν τε ἴσθι ἐὼν ἀπαθής." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας 80
ἀπαλλάσσετο.

78.1 ἐών add. Cobet 78.3 τετιμωρήσεαι Suevern

Παυσανίης δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μηδένα ἅπτεσθαι τῆς
ληίης, συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἵλωτας τὰ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ
τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι εὕρισκον σκηνὰς κατεσκευασμένας
χρυσῶι καὶ ἀργύρωι, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους,
2 κρητῆράς τε χρυσέους καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα· σάκκους
τε ἐπ' ἁμαξέων εὕρισκον, ἐν τοῖσι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνεόν-
τες χρύσεοί τε καὶ ἀργύρεοι· ἀπό τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν
ἐσκύλευον ψέλιά τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκας, ἐόντας
χρυσέους, ἐπεὶ ἐσθῆτός γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγίνετο οὐδὲ εἷς.
3 ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας
οἱ εἵλωτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτῶν οὐκ οἷά τε
ἦν κρύψαι· ὥστε Αἰγινήτηισι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεῦτεν
ἐγένοντο, οἳ τὸν χρυσὸν ἅτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν παρὰ τῶν
εἱλωτέων ὠνέοντο.

81 Συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῶι ἐν
Δελφοῖσι θεῶι, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ
τρικαρήνου ὄφιος τοῦ χαλκέου ἐπεστεὼς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ,
καὶ τῶι ἐν Ὀλυμπίηι θεῶι ἐξελόντες, ἀπ' ἧς δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον
Δία ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ τῶι ἐν Ἰσθμῶι θεῶι, ἀπ' ἧς ἑπτάπηχυς χάλκεος
Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο, ταῦτα ἐξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο καὶ
ἔλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περ-
σέων καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ ἄλλα χρήματά τε καὶ
2 ὑποζύγια. ὅσα μέν νυν ἐξαίρετα τοῖσι ἀριστεύσασι αὐτῶν ἐν
Πλαταιῆισι ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε
καὶ τούτοισι δοθῆναι· Παυσανίηι δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαιρέθη τε καὶ
ἐδόθη, γυναῖκες, ἵπποι, τάλαντα, κάμηλοι, ὣς δὲ αὔτως καὶ τἆλλα
χρήματα.

82 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι, ὡς Ξέρξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς
Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίωι τὴν κατασκευὴν καταλίποι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ.
Παυσανίην ὦν ὁρῶντα τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν χρυσῶι τε
καὶ ἀργύρωι καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοισι κατεσκευασμένην
κελεῦσαι τούς τε ἀρτοκόπους καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιοὺς κατὰ ταὐτὰ
2 καθὼς Μαρδονίωι δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ κελευόμενοι

80.2 οὐδὲ εἷς DRSV: οὐδείς ABCP

οὗτοι ἐποίευν ταῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Παυσανίην ἰδόντα κλίνας τε
χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὖ ἐστρωμένας καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας
καὶ ἀργυρέας καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου, ἐκ-
πλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ κελεῦσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοὺς ἑωυ-
τοῦ διηκόνους παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν δεῖπνον. ὡς δὲ τῆς 3
θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον, τὸν Παυσανίην γελάσαντα
μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς, συνελθόντων δὲ
τούτων εἰπεῖν τὸν Παυσανίην, δεικνύντα ἐς ἑκατέρην τοῦ δείπ-
νου τὴν παρασκευήν· "ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἐγὼ ὑμέας
συνήγαγον, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν τοῦδε τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν
ἀφροσύνην δεῖξαι, ὃς τοιήνδε δίαιταν ἔχων ἦλθε ἐς ἡμέας οὕτω
ὀϊζυρὴν ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησόμενος." ταῦτα μὲν Παυσανίην λέγεται
εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Ὑστέρωι μέντοι χρόνωι μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Πλαταιέων **83**
εὗρον συχνοὶ θήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
χρημάτων. ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ τόδε ὕστερον ἔτι τούτων. τῶν νεκρῶν 2
περιψιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας (συνεφόρεον γὰρ τὰ ὀστέα οἱ Πλα-
ταιέες ἐς ἕνα χῶρον) εὑρέθη κεφαλὴ οὐκ ἔχουσα ῥαφὴν οὐδεμίαν
ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐοῦσα ὀστέου· ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ γνάθος, καὶ τὸ ἄνω τῆς
γνάθου ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μουνοφυέας, ἐξ ἑνὸς ὀστέου πάντας, τούς
τε ὀδόντας καὶ γομφίους· καὶ πενταπήχεος ἀνδρὸς ὀστέα ἐφάνη.

Ἐπείτε δὲ Μαρδονίου δευτέρηι ἡμέρηι ὁ νεκρὸς ἠφάνιστο, ὑπ' **84**
ὅτευ μὲν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ ἀτρεκὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς δέ
τινας ἤδη καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἤκουσα θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δῶρα
μεγάλα οἶδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρὰ Ἀρτόντεω τοῦ Μαρδονίου
παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον· ὅστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενός 2
τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδονίου, οὐ δύναμαι ἀτρεκέως
πυθέσθαι· ἔχει δέ τινα φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος
θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τρόπωι τοιούτωι ἐτάφη. **85**

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὡς ἐν Πλαταιῆισι τὴν ληίην διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον
τοὺς ἑωυτῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριξὰς ἐποιήσαντο
θήκας· ἔνθα μὲν τοὺς ἰρέας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομ-
φάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης· ἐν μὲν δὴ ἑνὶ 2

82.3 ἡγεμόνος del. Schaefer   83.1 ἔτι Valckenaer: ἐπί codd.
84.1 ἐπεὶ δέ DRV: ἐπὶ δέ S   85.1 ἰρέας codd.: ἰρένας Valckenaer

τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱρέες, ἐν δὲ τῶι ἑτέρωι οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται, ἐν δὲ τῶι τρίτωι οἱ εἵλωτες. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἔθαπτον, Τεγεῆται δὲ χωρὶς πάντας ἁλέας, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ὁμοῦ, καὶ Μεγαρέες τε καὶ Φλειάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας.
3 τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεες ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων, ὅσοισι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῆισι ἐόντες τάφοι, τούτους δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπαισχυνομένους τῆι ἀπεστοῖ τῆς μάχης ἑκάστους χώματα χῶσαι κεινὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων εἵνεκεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Αἰγινητέων ἐστὶ αὐτόθι καλεόμενος τάφος, τὸν ἐγὼ ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα δεηθέντων τῶν Αἰγινητέων χῶσαι Κλεάδην τὸν Αὐτοδίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, πρόξεινον ἐόντα αὐτῶν.

86 Ὡς δ' ἄρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταιῆισι οἱ Ἕλληνες, αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισί σφι ἐδόκεε στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας καὶ ἐξαιτέειν αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐν πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν Τιμηγενίδην καὶ Ἀτταγῖνον, οἳ ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ πρώτους ἦσαν· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον ἢ
2 ἐξέλωσι. ὡς δέ σφι ταῦτα ἔδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἑνδεκάτηι ἡμέρηι ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον Θηβαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐκδιδόναι τήν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἔταμνον καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τεῖ-
87 χος. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύοντο σινόμενοι, εἰκοστῆι ἡμέρηι ἔλεξε τοῖσι Θηβαίοισι Τιμηγενίδης τάδε· "ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστῆναι πολιορκέοντας ἢ ἐξέλωσι Θήβας ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖσι παραδῶτε, νῦν ὦν ἡμέων
2 εἵνεκα γῆ ἡ Βοιωτίη πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσηι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηίζοντες πρόσχημα ἡμέας ἐξαιτέονται, χρήματά σφι δῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ (σὺν γὰρ τῶι κοινῶι καὶ ἐμηδίσαμεν οὐδὲ μοῦνοι ἡμεῖς), εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἀληθέως δεόμενοι πολιορκέουσι, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην παρέξομεν." κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὖ λέγειν καὶ ἐς καιρόν, αὐτίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Παυσανίην οἱ Θηβαῖοι
88 θέλοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας. ὡς δὲ ὡμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτοισι, Ἀτταγῖνος μὲν ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Παυσανίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίης, φὰς τοῦ μηδισμοῦ παῖδας

85.2 ἱρέες codd.: ἰρένες Valckenaer 85.3 ὅσοισι Krüger: ὅσοι codd.

οὐδὲν εἶναι μεταιτίους. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδοσαν οἱ
Θηβαῖοι, οἱ μὲν ἐδόκεον ἀντιλογίης τε κυρήσειν καὶ δὴ χρήμασι
ἐπεποίθεσαν διώσεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοέων
τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ἅπασαν ἀπῆκε καὶ ἐκείνους
ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῆισι καὶ 89
Θήβηισι γενόμενα.

Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιέων καὶ δὴ
πρόσω ἐγίνετο. ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ παρὰ σφέας ἐπί τε
ξείνια ἐκάλεον καὶ ἀνειρώτων περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἄλλης, οὐδὲν
ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῆισι γενομένων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος γνοὺς 2
ὅτι, εἰ ἐθέλει σφι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτός
τε κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατός (ἐπιθήσεσθαι
γάρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἴετο πυνθανόμενον τὰ γεγονότα), ταῦτα ἐκ-
λογιζόμενος οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐξηγόρευε οὐδέν πρός τε τοὺς
Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε· "ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοί, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, 3
ἐπείγομαί τε τὴν ταχίστην ἐλῶν ἐς Θρηίκην καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω,
πεμφθεὶς κατά τι πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶνδε· αὐτὸς
δὲ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ οὗτος κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῦ
ἐλαύνων προσδόκιμός ἐστι. τοῦτον καὶ ξεινίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῦν-
τες φαίνεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῦσι μεταμελήσει."
ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας ἀπήλαυνε σπουδῆι τὴν στρατιὴν διὰ Θεσσαλίης 4
τε καὶ Μακεδονίης ἰθὺ τῆς Θρηίκης, ὡς ἀληθέως ἐπειγόμενος καὶ
τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Βυζάντιον,
καταλιπὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ συχνοὺς ὑπὸ Θρηίκων τε
κατακοπέντας κατ' ὁδὸν καὶ λιμῶι συστάντας καὶ καμάτωι· ἐκ
Βυζαντίου δὲ διέβη πλοίοισι. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν 90
Ἀσίην.

Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆς περ ἐν Πλαταιῆισι τὸ τρῶμα ἐγένετο,
συνεκύρησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν Μυκάληι τῆς Ἰωνίης. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν
τῆι Δήλωι κατέατο οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῆισι νηυσὶ ἅμα Λευτυχίδηι
τῶι Λακεδαιμονίωι ἀπικόμενοι, ἦλθόν σφι ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ Σάμου
Λάμπων τε Θρασυκλέος καὶ Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδεω καὶ
Ἡγησίστρατος Ἀρισταγόρεω, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαμίων λάθρηι

88 διώσεσθαι Herwerden: διώσασθαι DRSV: διωθέεσθαι ABC
89.2 ἐθέλοι DP   89.3 τὴν ταχίστην Stein: κατὰ ταχίστην ABCDPR

τῶν τε Περσέων καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομήστορος τοῦ Ἀνδροδά-
2 μαντος, τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου τύραννον οἱ Πέρσαι. ἐπελθόντων
δέ σφεων ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγε Ἡγησίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ
παντοῖα, ὡς ἢν μοῦνον ἴδωνται αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἴωνες ἀποστήσονται
ἀπὸ Περσέων, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι· ἢν δὲ καὶ ἄρα
ὑπομείνωσι, οὐκ ἑτέρην ἄγρην τοιαύτην εὑρεῖν ἂν αὐτούς. θεούς τε
κοινοὺς ἀνακαλέων προέτρεπε αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι ἄνδρας Ἕλληνας
3 ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμῦναι τὸν βάρβαρον. εὐπετές τε αὐτοῖσι
ἔφη ταῦτα γίνεσθαι· τάς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν καὶ οὐκ
ἀξιομάχους κείνοισι εἶναι. αὐτοί τε, εἴ τι ὑποπτεύουσι μὴ δόλωι
αὐτοὺς προάγοιεν, ἕτοιμοι εἶναι ἐν τῆισι νηυσὶ τῆισι ἐκείνων ἀγό-
μενοι ὅμηροι εἶναι.

91 Ὡς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ Σάμιος, εἴρετο Λευ-
τυχίδης, εἴτε κληδόνος εἵνεκεν θέλων πυθέσθαι εἴτε καὶ κατὰ συν-
τυχίην θεοῦ ποιεῦντος· "ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε, τί τοι οὔνομα;" ὁ δὲ
2 εἶπε· "Ἡγησίστρατος." ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον,
εἴ τινα ὅρμητο λέγειν ὁ Ἡγησίστρατος, εἶπε· "δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν
[τὸν ἡγησίστρατον], ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε. σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ποίεε ὅκως αὐτός
τε δοὺς πίστιν ἀποπλεύσεαι καὶ οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἐόντες οἵδε, ἦ μὲν
92 Σαμίους ἡμῖν προθύμους ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους." ταῦτά τε ἅμα
ἠγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσῆγε· αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε
2 καὶ ὅρκια ἐποιεῦντο συμμαχίης πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ταῦτα
δὲ ποιήσαντες οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον· μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν
τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον, οἰωνὸν τὸ οὔνομα ποιεύμενος· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες
ἐπισχόντες ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην τῆι ὑστεραίηι ἐκαλλιερέοντο, μαν-
τευομένου σφι Δηιφόνου τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιήτεω,
Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῶι Ἰονίωι κόλπωι, τοῦ τὸν πατέρα
κατέλαβε Εὐήνιον πρῆγμα τοιόνδε.

93 Ἔστι ἐν τῆι Ἀπολλωνίηι ταύτηι ἱρὰ Ἡλίου πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς
μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ ποταμόν, ὃς ἐκ Λάκμονος ὄρεος ῥέει
διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρης ἐς θάλασσαν παρ' Ὤρικον λιμένα, τὰς
δὲ νύκτας ἀραιρημένοι ἄνδρες οἱ πλούτωι τε καὶ γένεϊ δοκιμώ-
τατοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὗτοι φυλάσσουσι ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστος· περὶ
πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦνται Ἀπολλωνιῆται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ

91.2 τὸν ἡγησίστρατον del. Valckenaer 92.2 Εὐήνιον del. Kallenberg

θεοπροπίου τινός· ἐν δὲ ἄντρωι αὐλίζονται ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἑκάς.
ἔνθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὗτος ἀραιρημένος ἐφύλασσε. καί κοτε 2
αὐτοῦ κατακοιμίσαντος τὴν φυλακὴν παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἄν-
τρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὡς ἑξήκοντα. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐπήισε,
εἶχε σιγῆι καὶ ἔφραζε οὐδενί, ἐν νόωι ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσειν
ἄλλα πριάμενος. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιήτας ταῦτα 3
γενόμενα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον
κατέκριναν, ὡς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακοιμίσαντα, τῆς ὄψιος στερ-
ηθῆναι. ἐπείτε δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα
οὔτε πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὔτε γῆ ἔφερε ὁμοίως [καρπόν].
πρόφαντα δέ σφι ἔν τε Δωδώνηι καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγίνετο, 4
ἐπείτε ἐπειρώτων [τοὺς προφήτας] τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ παρεόντος
κακοῦ, [οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον] ὅτι ἀδίκως τὸν φύλακον τῶν ἱρῶν
προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὄψιος ἐστέρησαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμῆ-
σαι τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πρότερόν τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκείνωι
πρὶν ἢ δίκας δῶσι τῶν ἐποίησαν ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτὸς ἕλ-
ηται καὶ δικαιοῖ· τούτων δὲ τελεομένων αὐτοὶ δώσειν Εὐη-
νίωι δόσιν τοιαύτην τὴν πολλούς μιν μακαριεῖν ἀνθρώπων
ἔχοντα.

94 Τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια ταῦτά σφι ἐχρήσθη, οἱ δὲ Ἀπολλωνιῆ-
ται ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι προσέθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι
διαπρῆξαι. οἱ δέ σφι διέπρηξαν ὧδε· κατημένου Εὐηνίου ἐν
θώκωι ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἄλλους ἐποιεῦντο, ἐς
ὃ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῶι πάθεϊ. ταύτηι δὲ ὑπάγοντες
εἰρώτων τίνα δίκην ἂν ἕλοιτο, εἰ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνιῆται δίκας
ὑποστῆναι δώσειν τῶν ἐποίησαν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀκηκοὼς τὸ θεοπρό- 2
πιον εἵλετο εἴπας εἴ τίς οἱ δοίη ἀγρούς, τῶν ἀστῶν ὀνομάσας τοῖσι
ἠπίστατο εἶναι καλλίστους δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῆι Ἀπολλωνίηι,
καὶ οἴκησιν πρὸς τούτοισι τὴν ἤιδεε καλλίστην ἐοῦσαν τῶν
ἐν πόλι· τούτων δὲ ἔφη ἐπήβολος γενόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ ⟨ἂν⟩
ἀμήνιτος εἶναι, καὶ δίκην οἱ ταύτην ἀποχρᾶν γενομένην. καὶ ὁ 3
μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, οἱ δὲ πάρεδροι εἶπαν ὑπολαβόντες· "Εὐήνιε,

93.3 καρπόν om. DRSV 93.4 ἐπείτε Reiske: ἔπειτα codd.
93.4 τοὺς προφήτας et οἱ . . . ἔφραζον del. Stein
94.1 προσέθεσαν Cobet: προέθεσαν codd. 94.2 ἂν add. Herwerden

ταύτην δίκην Ἀπολλωνιῆται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί τοι κατὰ
θεοπρόπια τὰ γενόμενα." ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα δεινὰ ἐποιέετο, ἐν-
θεῦτεν πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς ἐξαπατηθείς· οἱ δὲ πριά-
μενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτημένων διδοῦσί οἱ τὰ εἵλετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
ἔμφυτον αὐτίκα μαντικὴν εἶχε, ὥστε καὶ ὀνομαστὸς γενέσθαι.
95 τούτου δὴ ὁ Δηίφονος ἐὼν παῖς τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀγόντων Κορινθίων
ἐμαντεύετο τῆι στρατιῆι. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τόδε ἤκουσα ὡς ὁ Δηίφονος
ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου οὐνόματος ἐξελάμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
ἔργα, οὐκ ἐὼν Εὐηνίου παῖς.

96 Τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς
Δήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμίης πρὸς
Καλάμοισι, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὁρμισάμενοι κατὰ τὸ Ἡραιον τὸ ταύτηι
παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίην, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοί σφεας
προσπλέειν ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον τὰς νέας τὰς
2 ἄλλας, τὰς δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπῆκαν ἀποπλέειν. βουλευομένοισι γάρ
σφι ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίην μὴ ποιέεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἐδόκεον ὅμοιοι εἶναι·
ἐς δὲ τὴν ἤπειρον ἀπέπλεον, ὅκως ἔωσι ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν
τὸν σφέτερον ἐόντα ἐν τῆι Μυκάληι, ὃς κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω
καταλελειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ Ἰωνίην ἐφύλασσε· τοῦ
πλῆθος μὲν ἦν ἓξ μυριάδες, ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτοῦ Τιγράνης, κάλλεϊ
3 καὶ μεγάθεϊ ὑπερφέρων Περσέων. ὑπὸ τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν
ἐβουλεύσαντο καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοὶ ἀνειρύ-
σαι τὰς νέας καὶ περιβαλέσθαι ἕρκος ἔρυμα τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων
97 αὐτῶν κρησφύγετον. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀνήγοντο. ἀπικό-
μενοι δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτνιέων ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαίσωνά τε
καὶ Σκολοπόεντα, τῆι Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἐστὶ ἱρόν, τὸ Φίλιστος
ὁ Πασικλέος ἱδρύσατο Νείλεωι τῶι Κόδρου ἐπισπόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλή-
του κτιστύν, ἐνθαῦτα τάς τε νέας ἀνείρυσαν καὶ περιεβάλοντο
ἕρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δένδρεα ἐκκόψαντες ἥμερα, καὶ
σκόλοπας περὶ τὸ ἕρκος κατέπηξαν. καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς
πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσοντες· ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα ἐπιλεγόμενοι
γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο.

96.1 Καλάμοισι Larcher, ex Athen. 13.572–3: καλαμίσοισι ABCP: λαμίοισι RSV
97 καὶ . . . παρεσκευάζοντο del. Krueger

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἰχωκότας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς 98
τὴν ἤπειρον, ἤχθοντο ὡς ἐκπεφευγότων ἐν ἀπορίηι τε εἴχοντο
ὅ τι ποιέωσι, εἴτε ἀπαλλάσσωνται ὀπίσω εἴτε καταπλέωσι ἐπ'
Ἑλλησπόντου. τέλος δὲ ἔδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέτερα ποιέειν, ἐπι-
πλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἤπειρον. παρασκευασάμενοι ὦν ἐς ναυμαχίην 2
καὶ ἀποβάθρας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔδεε ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης.
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό
σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλ' ὥρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος,
πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἐνθαῦτα
πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῆι νηὶ παραπλέων, ἐγχρίμψας τῶι αἰγιαλῶι τὰ
μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖσι Ἴωσι λέγ-
ων· "ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ὅσοι ὑμέων τυγχάνουσι ἐπακούοντες, μάθετε 3
τὰ λέγω· πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲν συνήσουσι Πέρσαι τῶν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐν-
τέλλομαι. ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, μεμνῆσθαί τινα χρὴ ἐλευθερίης μὲν
πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος Ἥβης. καὶ τάδε ἴστω
καὶ ὁ μὴ ἐπακούσας ὑμέων πρὸς τοῦ ἐπακούσαντος." ὠυτὸς δὲ 4
οὗτος ἐὼν τυγχάνει νόος τοῦ πρήγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὁ
ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίωι· ἢ γὰρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους
ἔμελλε τοὺς Ἴωνας πείσειν, ἢ ἔπειτε ἀνενειχθέντα ἐς τοὺς βαρ-
βάρους ποιήσειν ἀπίστους τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. Λευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα 99
ὑποθεμένου δεύτερα δὴ τάδε ἐποίευν οἱ Ἕλληνες· προσσχόντες
τὰς νέας ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο, οἱ
δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρασκευαζομένους ἐς μάχην
καὶ τοῖσι Ἴωσι παραινέσαντας, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς
Σαμίους τὰ Ἑλλήνων φρονέειν ἀπαιρέονται τὰ ὅπλα. οἱ γὰρ ὦν 2
Σάμιοι ἀπικομένων Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῆισι νηυσὶ τῶν
βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἔλαβον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελειμμένους οἱ Ξέρξεω,
τούτους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδιάσαντες ἐς Ἀθή-
νας· τῶν εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἥκιστα ὑποψίην εἶχον, πεντακοσίας κεφαλὰς
τῶν Ξέρξεω πολεμίων λυσάμενοι. τοῦτο δὲ τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐς τὰς 3
κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης φερούσας προστάσσουσι τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι
φυλάσσειν ὡς ἐπισταμένοισι δῆθεν μάλιστα τὴν χώρην· ἐποίευν
δὲ τούτου εἵνεκεν, ἵνα ἐκτὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔωσι. τούτους

98.3 Ἥρης Roscher

μὲν Ἰώνων, τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκεον νεοχμὸν ἄν τι ποιέειν δυνάμιος
ἐπιλαβομένοισι, τρόποισι τοιούτοισι προεφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι.
αὐτοὶ δὲ συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἕρκος εἶναι σφίσι.
100 Ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεσκευάδατο τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, προσήισαν πρὸς
τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἰοῦσι δέ σφι φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπε-
δον πᾶν καὶ κηρυκήιον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματωγῆς κείμενον· ἡ δὲ
φήμη διῆλθέ σφι ὧδε, ὡς οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν
2 νικῶιεν ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι μαχόμενοι. δῆλα δὴ πολλοῖσι τεκμηρίοισί
ἐστι τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τότε τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης
συμπιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῆισι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκάληι μέλ-
λοντος ἔσεσθαι τρώματος φήμη τοῖσι Ἕλλησι τοῖσι ταύτηι ἐσ-
απίκετο, ὥστε θαρσῆσαί τε τὴν στρατιὴν πολλῶι μᾶλλον καὶ
101 ἐθέλειν προθυμότερον κινδυνεύειν. καὶ τόδε ἕτερον συνέπεσε γενό-
μενον, Δήμητρος τεμένεα Ἐλευσινίης παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συμ-
βολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῆι Πλαταιίδι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον
ἐγίνετο, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάληι
2 ἔμελλε ὡσαύτως ἔσεσθαι. γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ Παυ-
σανίεω Ἑλλήνων ὀρθῶς σφι ἡ φήμη συνέβαινε ἐλθοῦσα· τὸ μὲν
γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῆισι πρωὶ ἔτι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐγίνετο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάληι
περὶ δείλην. ὅτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι μηνός τε
τοῦ αὐτοῦ, χρόνωι οὐ πολλῶι σφι ὕστερον δῆλα ἀναμανθάνουσι
3 ἐγίνετο. ἦν δὲ ἀρρωδίη σφι πρὶν ἢ τὴν φήμην ἐσαπικέσθαι, οὔτι
περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὕτω ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίωι
πταίσηι ἡ Ἑλλάς. ὡς μέντοι ἡ κληδὼν αὕτη σφι ἐσέπτατο, μᾶλ-
λόν τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες
καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἔσπευδον ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὥς σφι καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ
Ἑλλήσποντος ἄεθλα προέκειτο.
102 Τοῖσι μέν νυν Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ τοῖσι προσεχέσι τούτοισι τεταγ-
μένοισι μέχρι κου τῶν ἡμισέων ἡ ὁδὸς ἐγίνετο κατ' αἰγιαλόν τε
καὶ ἄπεδον χῶρον, τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπεξῆς
τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι κατά τε χαράδραν καὶ ὄρεα· ἐν ὧι δὲ οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ⟨ἔτι⟩ περιήισαν οὗτοι, οἱ ἐπὶ τῶι ἑτέρωι κέρεϊ [ἔτι]
2 καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. ἕως μέν νυν τοῖσι Πέρσηισι ὄρθια ἦν τὰ γέρρα,

100.1 παρεσκεύαστο Reiske 100.2 συμπίπτοντος Reiske
102.1 ἔτι ante περιήισαν transpos. Steger

ἠμύνοντό τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλασσον εἶχον τῆι μάχηι· ἐπείτε δὲ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν πσοσεχέων ὁ στρατός, ὅκως ἑωυτῶν γένηται
τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακελευσάμενοι ἔργου εἴχοντο
προθυμότερον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα. διωσάμενοι 3
γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὗτοι φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἀλέες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ
δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀμυνόμενοι τέλος ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ
τεῖχος. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι (οὗ-
τοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι) συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσέπιπτον
ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραίρητο, οὔτ' ἔτι πρὸς ἀλκὴν
ἐτράποντο οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγήν τε ὁρμέατο οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν
Περσέων. οὗτοι δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι ἐμάχοντο τοῖσι αἰεὶ ἐς 4
τὸ τεῖχος ἐσπίπτουσι Ἑλλήνων. καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Περ-
σικῶν δύο μὲν ἀποφεύγουσι, δύο δὲ τελευτῶσι· Ἀρταΰντης μὲν καὶ
Ἰθαμίτρης, τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγέοντες, ἀποφεύγουσι, Μαρδόν-
της δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς Τιγράνης μαχόμενοι τελευτῶσι.
ἔτι δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ μετ' 103
αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδιεχείριζον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν
Ἑλλήνων συχνοὶ ἐνθαῦτα, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ στρατηγὸς
Περίλεως.

Τῶν δὲ Σαμίων οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐόντες τε ἐν τῶι στρατοπέδωι 2
τῶι Μηδικῶι καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ ὅπλα, ὡς εἶδον αὐτίκα κατ'
ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἑτεραλκέα τὴν μάχην, ἔρδον ὅσον ἐδυνέατο,
προσωφελέειν ἐθέλοντες τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. Σαμίους δὲ ἰδόντες οἱ ἄλ-
λοι Ἴωνες ἄρξαντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Περ-
σέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖσι βαρβάροισι. Μιλησίοισι δὲ προσετέτακτο 104
μὲν ⟨ἐκ⟩ τῶν Περσέων τὰς διόδους τηρέειν σωτηρίης εἵνεκά σφι,
ὡς ἢν ἄρα σφέας καταλαμβάνηι οἷά περ κατέλαβε, ἔχοντες ἡγεμό-
νας σώιζωνται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐτάχθησαν μέν νυν
ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι τούτου τε εἵνεκεν καὶ ἵνα μὴ
παρεόντες ἐν τῶι στρατοπέδωι τι νεοχμὸν ποιέοιεν. οἱ δὲ πᾶν
τοὐναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίεον, ἄλλας τε κατηγεόμενοί
σφι ὁδοὺς φεύγουσι, αἳ δὴ ἔφερον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐ-
τοί σφι ἐγίνοντο κτείνοντες πολεμιώτατοι. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον
Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη. ἐν δὲ ταύτηι τῆι μάχηι Ἑλλήνων 105

104 ἐκ add. Valckenaer

ἠρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἑρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθοίνου, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἑρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὕστερον τούτων, πολέμου ἐόντος Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι, ἐν Κύρνωι τῆς Καρυστίης χώρης ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχηι κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ Γεραιστῶι. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἠρίστευσαν.

106 Ἐπείτε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς πολλούς, τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἅπαν, τὴν ληίην προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν, καὶ θησαυρούς τινας χρημάτων εὗρον· ἐμπρήσαν-
2 τες δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίης, καὶ ὅκηι χρεὸν εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατοικίσαι τῆς αὐτοὶ ἐγκρατέες ἦσαν, τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπεῖναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἀδύνατα γὰρ ἐφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἑωυτούς τε Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι φρουρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον, καὶ ἑωυτῶν μὴ προκατημένων Ἴωνας οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα
3 εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν. πρὸς ταῦτα Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖσι ἐν τέλεϊ ἐοῦσι ἐδόκεε τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνέων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπόρια ἐξαναστήσαντας δοῦναι τὴν χώρην Ἴωσι ἐνοικῆσαι, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίους περὶ τῶν σφετέρων ἀποικιέων βουλεύειν· ἀντιτεινόντων δὲ τούτων προθύμως εἶξαν
4 οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας, οἳ ἔτυχον συστρατευόμενοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποιήσαντο, πίστι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὁρκίοισι ἐμμενέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι. τούτους δὲ καταλαβόντες ὁρκίοισι ἔπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες· ἔτι γὰρ ἐδόκεον
107 ἐντεταμένας εὑρήσειν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου ἔπλεον.

Τῶν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τε τῆς Μυκάλης κατειληθέντων, ἐόντων οὐ πολλῶν, ἐγίνετο κομιδὴ ἐς Σάρδις. πορευομένων δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου παρατυχὼν τῶι πάθεϊ τῶι γεγονότι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀρταΰντην ἔλεγε πολλά τε καὶ κακά, ἄλλα τε καὶ γυναικὸς κακίω φὰς αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιαῦτα

106.3 ἔπιπλα Legrand: ἐμπόλια ABCT: ἐμπόρια rell.
106.3 Πελοποννησίους Schweighäuser: Πελοποννησίοισι codd.

στρατηγήσαντα, καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον κακώσαντα. παρὰ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσηισι γυναικὸς κακίω ἀκοῦσαι δέν-
νος μέγιστός ἐστι. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἤκουσε, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος σπᾶ- 2
ται ἐπὶ τὸν Μασίστην τὸν ἀκινάκην, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων. καί μιν ἐπιθέοντα φρασθεὶς Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλεω ἀνὴρ Ἁλικαρνησσεύς, ὄπισθε ἑστεὼς αὐτοῦ Ἀρταΰντεω, ἁρπάζει μέσον καὶ ἐξάρας παίει ἐς τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐν τούτωι οἱ δορυφόροι οἱ Μασίστεω προέστησαν.
ὁ δὲ Ξειναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο χάριτα αὐτῶι τε Μασίστηι τιθέ- 3
μενος καὶ Ξέρξηι, ἐκσώιζων τὸν ἀδελφεὸν τὸν ἐκείνου· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Ξειναγόρης Κιλικίης πάσης ἦρξε δόντος βασιλέος. τῶν δὲ κατ᾽ ὁδὸν πορευομένων οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις. ἐν δὲ τῆισι Σάρδισι ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπείτε ἐξ Ἀθηνέων προσπταίσας τῆι ναυμαχίηι φυγὼν ἀπίκετο.

Τότε δὴ ἐν τῆισι Σάρδισι ἐὼν [ἄρα] ἤρα τῆς Μασίστεω γυ- 108
ναικός, ἐούσης καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα. ὡς δέ οἱ προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βίην προσέφερε προμηθεόμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Μασίστην (τὠυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο εἶχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα· εὖ γὰρ ἐπίστατο βίης οὐ τευξομένη), ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ξέρξης ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων πρήσσει τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τῶι παιδὶ τῶι ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείωι, θυγατέρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ Μασίστεω,
δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἢν ταῦτα ποιήσηι. ἁρμόσας 2
δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπήλαυνε ἐς Σοῦσα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἀπίκετο καὶ ἠγάγετο ἐς ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείωι τὴν γυναῖκα, οὕτω δὴ τῆς Μασίστεω μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυτο, ὁ δὲ διαμειψάμενος ἤρα τε καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναικός, Μασίστεω δὲ θυγατρός·
οὔνομα δὲ τῆι γυναικὶ ταύτηι ἦν Ἀρταΰντη. χρόνου δὲ προϊόν- 109
τος ἀνάπυστα γίνεται τρόπωι τοιῶιδε· ἐξυφήνασα Ἄμηστρις ἡ Ξέρξεω γυνὴ φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον διδοῖ Ξέρξηι. ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς περιβάλλεταί τε καὶ ἔρχεται παρὰ τὴν
Ἀρταΰντην. ἡσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ταύτηι ἐκέλευσε αὐτὴν αἰτῆσαι ὅ τι 2
βούλεταί οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῶι ὑπουργημένων· πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι αἰτήσασαν. τῆι δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἔδεε πανοικίηι γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε Ξέρξηι· "δώσεις μοι τὸ ἄν σε αἰτήσω;" ὁ δὲ πᾶν

107.3 Λυκίης Krueger 108.1 ἄρα del. Cobet

μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνην αἰτήσεσθαι ὑπισχνέεται καὶ ὤμοσε. ἡ δέ,
3 ὡς ὤμοσε, ἀδεῶς αἰτέει τὸ φᾶρος. Ξέρξης δὲ παντοῖος ἐγίνετο οὐ
βουλόμενος δοῦναι, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, φοβεόμενος δὲ Ἄμηστριν,
μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσηι τὰ γινόμενα οὕτω ἐπευρεθῆι πρήσσων.
ἀλλὰ πόλις τε ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἄπλετον καὶ στρατόν, τοῦ ἔμελλε
οὐδεὶς ἄρξειν ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκείνη· Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῶρον.
ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, διδοῖ τὸ φᾶρος. ἡ δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῶι
δώρωι ἐφόρεέ τε καὶ ἀγάλλετο.
110 Καὶ ἡ Ἄμηστρις πυνθάνεταί μιν ἔχουσαν· μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιεύ-
μενον, τῆι μὲν γυναικὶ αὐτῆι οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον, ἡ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα
τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτίην καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνην πρήσσειν, τῆι
2 Μασίστεω γυναικὶ ἐβούλευε ὄλεθρον. φυλάξασα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα
τὸν ἑωυτῆς Ξέρξην βασιλήιον δεῖπνον προτιθέμενον (τοῦτο δὲ
τὸ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεται ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ἡμέρηι τῆι
ἐγένετο βασιλεύς· οὔνομα δὲ τῶι δείπνωι τούτωι Περσιστὶ μὲν
τυκτά, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν τέλειον· τότε καὶ τὴν
κεφαλὴν σμᾶται μοῦνον βασιλεὺς καὶ Πέρσας δωρέεται), ταύτην
δὴ τὴν ἡμέρην φυλάξασα ἡ Ἄμηστρις χρηίζει τοῦ Ξέρξεω
3 δοθῆναί οἱ τὴν Μασίστεω γυναῖκα. ὁ δὲ δεινόν τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον
ἐποιέετο τοῦτο μὲν ἀδελφεοῦ γυναῖκα παραδοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ
ἀναιτίην ἐοῦσαν τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου· συνῆκε γὰρ τοῦ εἵνεκεν
111 ἐδέετο. τέλος μέντοι γε ἐκείνης τε λιπαρεούσης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου
ἐξεργόμενος, ὅτι ἀτυχῆσαι τὸν χρηίζοντα οὔ σφι δυνατόν ἐστι
βασιληίου δείπνου προκειμένου, κάρτα δὴ ἀέκων κατανεύει, καὶ
παραδοὺς ποιέει ὧδε· τὴν μὲν κελεύει ποιέειν τὰ βούλεται, ὁ
2 δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν λέγει τάδε· "Μασίστα, σὺ εἶς
Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός, πρὸς δ' ἔτι τούτοισι καὶ εἶς
ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός. γυναικὶ δὴ ταύτηι τῆι νῦν συνοικέεις μὴ συνοίκεε,
ἀλλά τοι ἀντ' αὐτῆς ἐγὼ δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμήν. ταύτηι
συνοίκεε· τὴν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκέει ἐμοί, μὴ ἔχε γυναῖκα."
3 ὁ δὲ Μασίστης ἀποθωμάσας τὰ λεγόμενα λέγει τάδε· "ὦ δέσποτα,
τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων με γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς μοι
παῖδές τε νεηνίαι εἰσὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῶι παιδὶ τῶι
σεωυτοῦ ἠγάγεο γυναῖκα, αὐτή τέ μοι κατὰ νόον τυγχάνει κάρτα
ἐοῦσα, ταύτην με κελεύεις μετέντα θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι;

ἐγὼ δέ, βασιλεῦ, μέγα μὲν ποιεῦμαι ἀξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, 4
ποιήσω μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα. σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιῶ πρήγματος
τοιοῦδε δεόμενος· ἀλλὰ τῆι τε σῆι θυγατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται
ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν ἥσσων, ἐμέ τε ἔα γυναικὶ τῆι ἐμῆι συνοικέειν." ὁ μὲν δὴ 5
τοιούτοισι ἀμείβεται, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς λέγει τάδε· "οὕτω τοι,
Μασίστα, πέπρηκται· οὔτε γὰρ ἄν τοι δοίην ἔτι θυγατέρα τὴν
ἐμὴν γῆμαι, οὔτε ἐκείνηι πλεῦνα χρόνον συνοικήσεις, ὡς μάθηις τὰ
διδόμενα δέκεσθαι." ὁ δὲ ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, εἴπας τοσόνδε ἐχώρεε
ἔξω· "δέσποτα, οὐ δή κού με ἀπώλεσας."

Ἐν δὲ τούτωι τῶι διὰ μέσου χρόνωι ἐν τῶι Ξέρξης τῶι ἀδελφεῶι 112
διελέγετο, ἡ Ἄμηστρις μεταπεμψαμένη τοὺς δορυφόρους τοὺς
Ξέρξεω διαλυμαίνεται τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Μασίστεω· τούς τε μα-
ζοὺς ἀποταμοῦσα κυσὶ προέβαλε καὶ ῥῖνα καὶ ὦτα καὶ χείλεα καὶ
γλῶσσαν ἐκταμοῦσα ἐς οἶκόν μιν ἀποπέμπει διαλελυμασμένην.
ὁ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδέν κω ἀκηκοὼς τούτων, ἐλπόμενος δέ τί οἱ 113
κακὸν εἶναι, ἐσπίπτει δρόμωι ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἰδὼν δὲ διεφθαρμένην
τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοῖσι παισὶ
ἐπορεύετο ἐς Βάκτρα σύν τε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ υἱοῖσι καὶ δή κού τισι
καὶ ἄλλοισι ὡς ἀποστήσων νομὸν τὸν Βάκτριον καὶ ποιήσων τὰ
μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέα. τά περ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, 2
εἴ περ ἔφθη ἀναβὰς ἐς τοὺς Βακτρίους καὶ τοὺς Σάκας· καὶ γὰρ
ἔστεργόν τέ μιν καὶ ἦν ὕπαρχος τῶν Βακτρίων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ξέρξης
πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἐκεῖνον πρήσσοντα πέμψας ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατιὴν
ἐν τῆι ὁδῶι κατέκτεινε αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ
τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν ἐκείνου. κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν Ξέρξεω καὶ
τὸν Μασίστεω θάνατον τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο.

Οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὁρμηθέντες Ἕλληνες ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου 114
πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Λεκτὸν ὅρμεον, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες, ἐν-
θεῦτεν δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἄβυδον καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὗρον διαλελυμέ-
νας, τὰς ἐδόκεον εὑρήσειν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας, καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἥκιστα
εἵνεκεν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπίκοντο. τοῖσι μέν νυν ἀμφὶ Λευ- 2
τυχίδην Πελοποννησίοισι ἔδοξε ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Ἀθη-
ναίοισι δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππωι τῶι στρατηγῶι αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας
πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλεον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ
τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκεον.

115 ἐς δὲ τὴν Σηστὸν ταύτην, ὡς ἐόντος ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτηι, συνῆλθον, ὡς ἤκουσαν παρεῖναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔκ τε τῶν ἀλλέων τῶν περιοικίδων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος Οἰόβαζος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, ὃς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὅπλα ἐνθαῦτα ἦν κεκομικώς. εἶχον δὲ ταύτην οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Αἰολέες, συνῆσαν δὲ Πέρσαι τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχνὸς ὅμιλος.

116 Ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξεω ὕπαρχος Ἀρταΰκτης, ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ὃς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξηπάτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλεω τοῦ Ἰφίκλου
2 χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ὑπελόμενος. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν, ἔνθα ἦν χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιάλαι χρύσεαι καὶ ἀργύρεαι καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθὴς καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ Ἀρταΰκτης ἐσύλησε
3 βασιλέος δόντος. λέγων δὲ τοιάδε Ξέρξην διεβάλετο· "δέσποτα, ἔστι οἶκος ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατευσάμενος δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανε. τούτου μοι δὸς τὸν οἶκον, ἵνα καί τις μάθηι ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ στρατεύεσθαι." ταῦτα λέγων εὐπετέως ἔμελλε ἀναπείσειν Ξέρξην δοῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἶκον, οὐδὲν ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐφρόνεε. ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν βασιλέος στρατεύεσθαι Πρωτεσίλεων ἔλεγε νοέων τοιάδε· τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἑωυτῶν εἶναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόθη, τὰ χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξεφόρησε καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἔσπειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο, αὐτός τε ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα, ἐν τῶι ἀδύτωι γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγετο. τότε δὲ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων οὔτε παρεσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορκίην οὔτε προσδεκόμενος τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ἀφυλάκτωι δέ κως αὐτῶι ἐπέπεσον.

117 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένοισί σφι φθινόπωρον ἐπεγίνετο, ἤσχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπό τε τῆς ἑωυτῶν ἀποδημέοντες καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐξελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος, ἐδέοντό τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅκως ἀπάγοιεν σφέας ὀπίσω· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλωσι ἢ τὸ Ἀθηναίων
118 κοινόν σφεας μεταπέμψηται. οὕτω δὴ ἔστεργον τὰ παρεόντα. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῶι τείχεϊ ἐς πᾶν ἤδη κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι ἦσαν, οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς τόνους ἕψοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέοντο. ἐπείτε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔτι

116.3 ἀφύκτως ABCMP

εἶχον, οὕτω δὴ ὑπὸ νύκτα οἴχοντο ἀποδράντες οἵ τε Πέρσαι
καὶ ὁ Ἀρταΰκτης καὶ ὁ Οἰόβαζος, ὄπισθε τοῦ τείχεος καταβάν-
τες, τῆι ἦν ἐρημότατον τῶν πολεμίων. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, οἱ 2
Χερσονησῖται ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμηναν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὸ
γεγονὸς καὶ τὰς πύλας ἄνοιξαν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῦνες ἐδίωκον, οἱ
δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἶχον. Οἰόβαζον μέν νυν ἐκφυγόντα ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην 119
Θρήικες Ἀψίνθιοι λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστώρωι ἐπιχωρίωι θεῶι
τρόπωι τῶι σφετέρωι, τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου ἄλλωι τρόπωι ἐφόνευ-
σαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταΰκτην ὕστεροι ὁρμηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ ὡς 2
κατελαμβάνοντο ὀλίγον ἐόντες ὑπὲρ Αἰγὸς Ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι
χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνὸν οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ ζῶντες ἐλάμφθησαν. καὶ
συνδήσαντές σφεας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἤγαγον ἐς Σηστόν, μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ
καὶ Ἀρταΰκτην δεδεμένον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ.

Καί τεωι τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτέων 120
ταρίχους ὀπτῶντι τέρας γενέσθαι τοιόνδε· οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῶι πυρὶ
κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντό τε καὶ ἤσπαιρον ὅκως περ ἰχθύες νεάλωτοι. καὶ 2
οἱ μὲν περιχυθέντες ἐθώμαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀρταΰκτης ὡς εἶδε τὸ τέρας,
καλέσας τὸν ὀπτῶντα τοὺς ταρίχους ἔφη· "ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν
φοβέο τὸ τέρας τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ
ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὼς καὶ τάριχος ἐὼν δύ-
ναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι. νῦν ὦν ἄποινά μοι 3
τάδε ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι, ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ
ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καταθεῖναι τῶι θεῶι, ἀντὶ δ' ἐμεωυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ
παιδὸς ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι περιγενόμενος."
ταῦτα ὑπισχόμενος τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε· οἱ 4
γὰρ Ἐλαιούσιοι τῶι Πρωτεσίλεωι τιμωρέοντες ἐδέοντό μιν κατα-
χρησθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτηι ὁ νόος ἔφερε. ἀπα-
γαγόντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔζευξε τὸν πόρον,
οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου πόλιος, σανίδι
προσπασσαλεύσαντες ἀνεκρέμασαν, τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι
τοῦ Ἀρταΰκτεω κατέλευσαν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς 121
τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα ἄγοντες καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα

119.2 καὶ(1) om. P, Aldus   120.4 ὁ M: om. cett.
120.4 σάνιδι Reiske: σανίδα S: σανίδας rell.

τῶν γεφυρέων ὡς ἀναθήσοντες ἐς τὰ ἱρά. καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο.

122 Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταΰκτεω τοῦ ἀνακρεμασθέντος προπάτωρ Ἀρτεμβάρης ἐστὶ ὁ Πέρσηισι ἐξηγησάμενος λόγον τὸν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπο-
2 λαβόντες Κύρωι προσήνεικαν λέγοντα τάδε· "ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς Πέρσηισι ἡγεμονίην διδοῖ, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοί, Κῦρε, κατελὼν Ἀστυάγην, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα ὀλίγην καὶ ταύτην τρηχέαν, μεταναστάντες ἐκ ταύτης ἄλλην σχῶμεν ἀμείνω. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀστυγείτονες, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἑκαστέρω, τῶν μίαν σχόντες πλέοσι ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι. οἰκὸς δὲ ἄνδρας ἄρχοντας τοιαῦτα ποιέειν· κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον ἢ ὅτε γε ἀνθρώπων τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν
3 πάσης τε τῆς Ἀσίης;" Κῦρος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον ἐκέλευε ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραίνεε κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς οὐκέτι ἄρξοντας ἀλλ' ἀρξομένους· φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς ἄνδρας γίνεσθαι· οὐ γάρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπόν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας
4 ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. ὥστε συγγνόντες Πέρσαι οἴχοντο ἀποστάντες, ἑσσωθέντες τῆι γνώμηι πρὸς Κύρου, ἄρχειν τε εἵλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες μᾶλλον ἢ πεδιάδα σπείροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.

122.2 κατελόντι Stein

COMMENTARY

1–3 Mardonius arrives in Attica

For the background to the major events and people of Book 9, see Intr. §§3, 5. Book 8 (140–142) ended with the mission of the Macedonian King, Alexander I, to Athens in late winter or early spring 479. Acting as Mardonius' agent, Alexander offered the Athenians an alliance with Persia on very favourable terms. This they firmly rejected and then reassured representatives from Sparta of their resolve not to take the side of the Persians.

1 **Μαρδόνιος δέ**: the δέ here answers the μέν of the final sentence of Book 8: οἱ μὲν [sc. the Spartans] ταῦτα ὑποκριναμένων Ἀθηναίων ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σπάρτην. The book-divisions are not H.'s own, but (probably) those of the Alexandrian period: see Schmid-Stählin 1934: 662–3; Books 5 and 8 similarly begin with δέ answering a μέν clause.

οἱ = αὐτῶι, as often in H.: see Intr. §7.E.1.

τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων: sc. λεχθέντα. The Athenians' eloquent reply to Mardonius was that they would never make peace with the Persians (8.143).

ἐκ Θεσσαλίης: Mardonius had spent the winter of 480/79 there (8.126).

ἐπί 'against'.

ὅκου . . . γίνοιτο . . . παρελάμβανε 'wherever . . . he arrived, . . . he took these along', sc. as allies: past general condition with iterative optative (Smyth §2340); on ὅκου see Intr. §7.B.1.

τούτους: his Greek allies allegedly numbered 50,000 (see 32n.).

τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίης . . . οὔτε . . . μετέμελε . . . πολλῶι τε μᾶλλον 'the Thessalian leaders did not repent of what they had done before this, but much more . . .'. μεταμέλει is more usually construed with dat. of person and gen. of thing, but τὰ πεπραγμένα (referring to their medising, cf. 7.174) is here the subject; cf. 6.63.2 for another example.

Θεσσαλίης ἡγεομένοισι 'the leaders of Thessaly', probably meaning the nobles as a class (on the political situation, see Robertson 1976: 102–8). The most conspicuous of these supporters of the Persians (medisers) were the Aleuadae, descendants of the 6th-c. dynast Aleuas, who were the hereditary rulers of the city of Larisa in N. Thessaly. H. earlier called them Θεσσαλίης βασιλέες ('Thessalian princes', 7.6.2), and reported that they enthusiastically invited Xerxes to invade Greece. H. elsewhere claims that

although the Thessalians were the first of the Greeks to join the Persians, the majority of Thessalians did not initially share the medism of the Aleuadae (7.130.3). Rather, they sent to the Hellenic League for an army to help them guard the Tempe pass against the advancing Persians; although sent, the army departed upon information from Alexander of Macedon, and all of the Thessalians, now bereft of allies, enthusiastically took the side of Persia (7.172–174). On medism among the Greek states generally, see Gillis 1979. These are the first indications in Book 9 that the natural disposition, so to speak, of the Greeks was towards fragmentation. The alliance against the Persian was fraught with tension, and held together only with the greatest effort, and in this regard was truly a great achievement and worthy of wonder.

οὔτε . . . τε: the two τες are correlative, with only the first negative; for this kind of construction ('neither . . . and', sometimes 'not only . . . but also') cf. below, 13.3; 6.1.1; 7.8α.1, et al.

οὐδέν 'in no way' (adverbial accusative), though here one would translate 'in any way' because of the preceding οὔτε.

συμπροέπεμψε: with pluperfect sense ('had escorted'), as often with the Greek aorist. H. did not mention Thorax, however, in the earlier narrative of Xerxes' escape (8.113–120).

Θώρηξ: one of the Aleuadae, he is mentioned again with his (probably) younger brothers, Eurypylus and Thrasydeius, as being present with Mardonius at Plataea (58.1). Thorax commissioned Pind. *Pyth.* 10 (of *c.* 498) for Hippocleas of Thessaly, and apparently was host to the poet (see *Pyth.* 10.64, 69, and Kurke 1991: 141–3).

φεύγοντα 'in his flight'; in the aftermath of Salamis, Xerxes withdrew to Sardis, leaving Mardonius in his place for a renewed assault the following year (8.101–103). In the Greek tradition, Xerxes is always depicted as 'fleeing' from Greece (cf. 8.97, 103, 115, 120, and below, 82.1; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 470: ἀκόσμωι ξὺν φυγῆι): in fact, Xerxes probably returned to Asia because he felt he had accomplished his goal of punishing Athens and was confident that Mardonius could see to the rest; it is also possible, though less likely, that he was forced to return by the news of a revolt in Babylon (see Briant 1996: 546–8, 551–2, who dates the revolt to 479).

καὶ τότε: in spring of 479, as opposed to the previous winter when he had escorted Xerxes through Thessaly.

ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ: the phrase suggests that his aid during Xerxes' retreat had been more covert.

παρῆκε 'allowed to pass', < παρίημι (cf. παρῆκε at 15.3, < παρήκω) Thorax was deeply committed to the Persian side, but hardly in a position to block Mardonius' advance even had he so desired.

2.1 οἱ Θηβαῖοι: The Thebans are portrayed by H. throughout as active and eager medisers: see notes to 2.3, 17.1, 31.2, 40, 41.4, 60, 67, 87.2.

κατελάμβανον . . . συνεβούλευον: the first imperfect expresses effort ('tried to halt'), the second repeated action ('kept advising').

ἐπιτηδεότερος: on the form see Intr. §7.C.3.

οὐδὲ ἔων ἰέναι ἑκαστέρω 'and they were advising him not to go further'; understand Μαρδόνιον or αὐτόν as the object of ἔων. For this sense of οὐ + ἐάω see LSJ s.v. I.2.

αὐτοῦ ἱζόμενον 'remaining there'.

ποιέειν ὅκως: on the forms see Intr. §7.B.1, F.4.

ἀμαχητί: cf. 2.2n. on ἀπόνως.

καταστρέψεται: H. regularly uses the indicative for object clauses of effort (ποιέειν ὅκως): Smyth §2211; cf. 37.2, 91.2.

2.2 κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρόν . . . περιγίνεσθαι καὶ ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι 'for to prevail by force of arms against Greeks who were of one mind, as many as even before were united in their thinking, would be difficult even for the entire world'. περιγίγνομαι, 'to get the better of, to be superior to', generally takes the genitive of person and dative of thing (cf. 2.121 ε.3); here the accusative must arise by analogy with νικᾶν or the like.

καὶ πάρος: i.e. at Salamis.

εἶναι: inf. in indirect discourse, still dependent on λέγοντες (2.1).

καὶ ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι 'even for the entire world': exaggeration, of course, serving to help the Thebans make the point more effectively that even the Persians, with their great number of men under arms, could not defeat a united Greece. What H. leaves implicit – that a united Greece could not only resist conquest but conquer all others – Aristotle later states openly (*Pol.* 1327b29–33): 'The Greek race is both spirited and intelligent . . . and capable of ruling all others if it attains a single constitution.'

εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις: the movement from reported to direct speech in H. is common: cf. 1.118.1–2, 125.2

τά = ἅ: see Intr. §7.C.3; the relative is proleptic, referring to the next sentence.

ἔφασαν λέγοντες: cf. 1.118.2, ἔφη λέγων, there as here marking a move from indirect to direct speech. Occasionally H. reverses verb and participle,

e.g. ἔλεγον φάμενοι (5.18.4); additional examples at Powell, s.v. λέγω, A.1.4.f.

ἕξεις 'you will know': cf. προέχων at 4.2.

ἀπόνως: πόνος, although generally used of any effort, sometimes refers to the travail of battle (cf. 6.114, 7.224.1; below, 27.4, 52), and so here continues the thought from ἀμαχητί above (2.1); cf. ῥηιδίως below. The Theban sentiment echoes Mardonius' own belief, expressed earlier to Xerxes, that it would not be difficult to conquer the Greeks (7.9α1–β2). For another prophecy of easy victory, cf. 90.3 with n.

2.3 πέμπε χρήματα ἐς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἄνδρας: this advice is repeated at 41.3 by Artabazus. It is curious that although Mardonius does not take the Thebans' advice, H. suggests only a few chapters later (5.2) that the Athenian Lycides may have spoken under the influence of Mardonius' bribes. Diod. 11.28.3 treats this strategy as fact: 'Mardonius, spending time in Boeotia with his forces, attempted to make certain of the Peloponnesian cities rebel, distributing money among their leading men.' It is doubtful, however, if this is anything more than a logical inference, from a Greek point of view, as to what he is likely to have done; it is striking that in the first eight books there is not a single example of a Persian using bribery as an incentive to treachery (Lewis 1997: 372). Later Persian attempts at bribery, which occurred during H.'s lifetime, failed; in *c.* 457 they unsuccessfully attempted to bribe the Spartans to invade Attica in order to bring about the recall of Athenian forces from Egypt (Thuc. 1.109.2–3), and sometime in the 460s or 450s Cimon passed a decree against Arthmius of Zelea for taking Persian gold into the Peloponnese (cf. Meiggs 1972: 508–12; Lewis 1997). Indeed, if Dem. *De cor.* 45–6, 294–6 can be believed (but cf. Cawkwell 1996), it was Philip of Macedon who first successfully put this advice into practice in the 340s and 330s, by bribing the leading men in the Greek cities and thus subjugating Greece.

τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις 'you will split Greece in two'.

ἐνθεῦτεν: see Intr. §7.B.4.

τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας 'those not taking your side', lit. 'those not thinking your thoughts'. μή instead of οὐ because of generality, 'any that do not'.

ῥηιδίως: see 2.2n. on ἀπόνως.

μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων 'with your partisans', functionally equivalent to οἱ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντες above.

καταστρέψεαι: for the lack of contraction, see Intr. §7.F.4.

3–5 Murychides' proposal and the Athenians' response

3.1 ἀλλά οἱ δεινός τις ἐνέστακτο ἵμερος . . . ἑλεῖν 'but a fearsome longing had been instilled in him to take Athens a second time'. ἵμερος (only here in H.) is used for both hunger and sexual desire as well as longing for what is not present (*LfgrE* s.v.). The language suggests that Mardonius' passion to take Athens is irrational (thus he is deaf to the Thebans' suggestions); cf. Pind. *Ol.* 1.40–1, where Poseidon wishes to seize Pelops, 'struck in his wits with longing (δαμέντα φρένας ἱμέρωι)'. ἐνέστακτο (< ἐνστάζω, 'to drop/drip into'), also only here in H., is used by Homer of strength (cf. *Od.* 2.271), and, in its simple form, of the nectar implanted by the gods in Patroclus (*Il.* 19.39). The tense of the verb points to 'the depth rather than to the date of his passion' (Macan). For a similarly poetic formulation, cf. Thuc. 6.24.3: καὶ ἔρως ἐνέπεσε τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐκπλεῦσαι. Poetic language aside, H. notes below (4.2) that a more likely motive for Mardonius' actions is that he intended to bring added pressure to bear on the Athenians to come to terms.

δεύτερα 'a second time'; Xerxes captured Athens for the first time in the previous year; cf. 3.2n. on δεκάμηνος.

ἅμα μέν . . . ἅμα δέ: the clauses are not quite correlative, with a prepositional phrase in the first, and a finite verb in the second.

ἀγνωμοσύνης 'lack of sense' or 'folly'; its original meaning was 'lack of understanding'. Democritus (DK 68 B 175) notes that evils befall men from blindness and ἀγνωμοσύνη. The word here underscores an important aspect of Mardonius' character: see Intr. §3, and below, 4.2n.

πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων 'by means of beacon fires through the islands'. Although the Greeks did use signal fires to send simple messages over a short distance (cf. 7.183; Thuc. 2.94, 3.22, 3.80; only later did they develop more sophisticated techniques: see Whitehead 1990: 111–13), it is highly improbable that Mardonius had a series of beacons in place in 479 reaching from Athens to Sardis, for the Persians no longer controlled the islands W. of Samos (8.132). H.'s audience would have been familiar enough with the scene in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (performed 458), where Clytemnestra informs the chorus that beacon fires have signalled to her the fall of Troy (281–316). H. may have borrowed the whole notion from Aeschylus. Just as in *Agamemnon* the beacon fires signal the fall of Troy, so H. here has beacons signal the sack of Athens. It is significant that Xerxes sent a horseman to Susa to announce *his* capture of Athens (8.54).

3.2 οὐδὲ τότε 'not at that time either': as with Xerxes in the previous year (8.50–55), Mardonius finds a deserted city.

ἐν . . . Σαλαμῖνι: when the Athenians abandoned Attica in the previous year, they had gone to Troezen, Aegina, and Salamis (8.41).

ἐν . . . τῇσι νηυσί: these are the ships at Aegina (8.131).

τὸ ἄστυ: the physical city, as opposed to the πόλις, the civic community of the Athenians, which would exist wherever the Athenians were (cf. Thuc. 7.77.7: ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις, καὶ οὐ τείχη.)

δεκάμηνος: the Greek here expresses the time interval in the opposite way to English, which would say, 'Mardonius' expedition against Athens was nine months after the capture by the king'. H. says, by contrast, 'the capture by (*lit.* of) the king was in the tenth month in respect to (ἐς) the later expedition of Mardonius'. The ten-month reckoning is inclusive (as was standard in Greek): Xerxes' capture was in Sept. 480, Mardonius' in June 479.

4.1 τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους 'the same proposals'; these were implied in the speech of Alexander I at Athens, who claimed that Xerxes had directed Mardonius to do the following (8.140α.2): 'Give them back their territory and let them be autonomous and choose another territory in addition to their own. If they are willing to come to an agreement with me, rebuild all of their sanctuaries that I burnt.'

διεπόρθμευσε: the verb ('to ferry something or someone across'; cf. 8.130.1) is used metaphorically only here in H. It may have been suggested by mention above of the movement of the Athenians to Salamis; or possibly the adj. Ἑλλησπόντιον just used led H. to think in such 'nautical' terms.

4.2 προέχων 'knowing (lit., holding) beforehand (i.e., already)'. The resolute answer of the Athenians (8.143) left no doubt in Mardonius' mind of their feelings (γνώμας); but the change in their circumstances, now that their country is again occupied, leads him to hope (ἐλπίσας) that they may have changed their minds.

ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης 'would relent from their folly'; on ὑπήσειν cf. Intr. 7.A.1. ἀγνωμοσύνη here (as opposed to its use in 3.1) is an embedded focalisation (Intr. §2) that represents Mardonius' own evaluation of the Athenians; cf. his earlier remark that the Greeks fight ὑπό τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαιότητος (7.9β.1). Coming so close after the previous appearance, the word highlights the larger irony of Mardonius' ignorance in contrast with the Athenians' proper understanding of the current state of affairs. Cf. Intr. §3, and for another example of this dichotomy, 62.3n.

ὡς . . . ἐούσης: ὡς ('on the grounds that', with the genitive absolute) represents Mardonius' view; on the construction, Smyth §2086; *AGPS* §56.12.2, who notes that ὡς + participle 'comes close to a condensed and less specific form' of indirect discourse. The failure of the Spartans to appear must also have encouraged Mardonius (so Balcer 1995: 281).

ἑωυτῶι: for the form see Intr. §7.A.2.

τούτων μὲν εἵνεκεν . . . Σαλαμῖνα: ring-composition with ταῦτα δέ, above, a favourite technique of H.; for its use in statements that summarise causes or reasons, see Beck 1971: 42–4.

5.1 τὴν βουλήν: the Council of 500 which prepared the agenda for the Assembly of Athenian citizens and made preliminary resolutions which the Assembly might vote upon (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 45.4). Although the Athenian *boule* ordinarily met in the Council House (*bouleuterion*), it could, when necessity or emergency demanded, meet elsewhere, as here it does on Salamis: see Rhodes 1972: 35–6.

Λυκίδης: nothing else is known of him. In the later tradition, he is called Cyrsilus and the context suggests that he makes his proposal before, not (as here) after, the battle of Salamis: cf. Dem. *De cor.* 204, 'they chose as general Themistocles who had counselled these things [i.e., to abandon the city and embark on their ships], but they stoned to death Cyrsilus who said that you should comply with the demands [sc. of the King], and not only him, but your wives also stoned his wife'. It is hardly likely that there were two such similar incidents, and that of Dem. is probably a patriotic distortion (see Nouhaud 1982: 167), shifted from before Plataea (which was remembered as a Spartan victory) to *the* great Athenian struggle, Salamis. Verrall 1909 attempts to sort out the various traditions.

εἶπε γνώμην: probably 'expressed the opinion', not 'moved a resolution' (Macan 600); cf. H.'s use of the same words at 8.26.2 (of a Persian); yet given the phrase immediately following (see next n. but one), it is possible that H. is here thinking of Athenian democratic procedure.

σφι = αὐτοῖς see Intr. §7.E.1.

ἐξενεῖκαι ἐς τὸν δῆμον: ἐκφέρω in H. generally means 'to declare', but he has here adopted the formal use, 'to lay (a matter) before the people'; the people would have to vote since they were sovereign and alone had the authority to pass decrees, ratify treaties, declare war or make peace.

5.2 εἴτε δή . . . εἴτε καί 'whether he actually (δή) had received money from Mardonius, or whether these things really (καί) seemed best to him'; for εἴτε . . . εἴτε used by H. when giving different possibilities, see Powell,

s.v. εἴτε, II; Lang 1984: 73; and below, 91.1n. The use of τε with δή is a favourite form of expression for H. but rare in other writers (*GP* 260–2).

δεδέγμενος χρήματα: cf. 2.3n.

ἑάνδανε: so also at 19.1; elsewhere H. uses the form ἥνδανον (7.172.1, 8.29.2).

δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι: 'considering it a terrible thing'; for ποιεῖσθαι = 'consider', Powell s.v. B.II.2; H. is fond of this expression, which occurs frequently in 9: cf. 7α.2, 33.5, 53.3, et al.

κατέλευσαν: Lycurg. *Leoc.* 122 (330 BC) cites a decree which condemned to death the traitor who suggested alliance with the Persians. Lycurgus does not name Lycides, but it is generally assumed that he is referring to him, following either H.'s account or the tradition used by Demosthenes (above, 5.1). Although it is not impossible that the Athenians passed such a decree as a justification after the fact, it is more likely to be one of a number of 'forged documents' (see Habicht 1961) dating from the fourth century and functioning as political propaganda at the time of their invention.

5.3 διακελευσαμένη... καὶ παραλαβοῦσα 'woman giving the order to woman and taking her along': military language is used here for the women's 'expedition' to the house of Lycides; cf. 1 n., 22.3n.

ἤισαν: on the form see Intr. §7.F.8.

αὐτοκελέες: lacking a general to give them orders (κελεύειν), the women marshal themselves spontaneously in a display of female daring. Cf. 5.87 for a similar incident, and Dewald 1981: 96–101 for other examples of women taking the initiative as citizens. Female involvement in war often indicates the presence of supreme danger: cf. Thuc. 2.4.2; 3.74.1.

κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν... κατὰ δὲ: tmesis, one of many ways that H. models himself on Homer (cf. Intr. §2). This stoning by the Athenians finds an echo at the end of the *Histories* where they inflict the same punishment on the son of Artaÿctes, the Persian governor. For the importance of both passages in the characterisation of the Athenians, cf. 120.4n. and Intr. §3.

6-11 Athenian embassy to Sparta

6 προσεδέκοντο... στρατὸν ἥξειν: the Athenians had specifically asked the Spartans to send an army to fight in central Greece (8.144.4); the reason for Spartan delay is given below at 7.1.

οἱ δέ: the Athenians.

οἱ μέν: the Peloponnesians.

μακρότερα . . . σχολαίτερα 'when the Spartans were taking a rather long and leisurely time'; the neut. pl. used as the comparative adverb for the more usual neut. sg.

ἐποίεον: for the form, see Intr. §7.F.4.

ὁ δέ: sc. Μαρδόνιος or Πέρσης.

καὶ δή 'even now', 'already'; temporal δή, especially when preceded by καί, is approximately equivalent to ἤδη (Smyth §2845).

οὕτω δή: H. is fond of this combination after dependent clauses (Powell s.v. οὕτω 3c), which gives a lively feeling to the narrative.

ἀγγέλους: H. does not give their names; either he did not know them or he preferred to keep the narrative uncluttered with such details. Plut. *Arist.* 10.7–10 says that Aristides went to Sparta and he reports an exchange of quips with the ephors in connection with the night mobilisation of the Spartan army. Plut. recognised, however, the problematic nature of this account, which he found in the unreliable Idomeneus of Lampsacus (see Intr. §5d), whose purpose here may have been to contrast Aristides' action with the crafty Themistocles' duplicitous mission to Sparta the following year (*Them.* 19.2–3, with Sansone 1989: 189–90). To counteract this, Plut. cites a 'decree of Aristides', in which not Aristides but Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides are named as ambassadors. Quite apart from difficulties involved with these particular names (Burn 505–6, n. 49), confidence is undermined by the two other obviously spurious decrees of Aristides which Plut. cites earlier (10.4–6). There are certainly no grounds for postulating two embassies (as do Hignett 284, Green 230–1, *CAH* iv².597–8), one with Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides, and a second headed by Aristides.

μεταβαλοῦσι 'if they changed sides'.

προεῖπαί τε: the construction changes from fut. participles of purpose (μεμψομένους, ὑπομνήσοντας) to inf. of purpose.

ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμυνεῦσι . . . εὑρήσονται: a future most vivid condition (on the form ἀμυνεῦσι, see Intr. §7.F.6) which has been retained in indirect discourse to make the gravity of the Athenians' threat as immediate as possible. For the repetition of the conjunctions ὅτι . . . ὡς cf. 3.71.5.

ἀλεωρήν 'defence' or 'escape'; a rare epic word, thrice in Homer. At *Il.* 24.216 and Hes. *Op.* 404 the word must mean 'escape' (*LfgrE* ad loc.), and the presence of both meanings gives point to the Athenian message, which is intentionally vague: either 'defence' (perhaps the acceptance of Mardonius' terms), as the Spartans were doing by building the wall across the Isthmus; or, more ominously, 'escape', perhaps the mass emigration

to Siris in Italy that Themistocles had threatened before Salamis (8.61–62). The Athenians' words here read oddly after their noble sentiments at 8.144, but they make the arguments that are necessary to show the Spartans how dire the situation is: their threats become even greater at 11.1–2.

7.1 Ὑακίνθια: the Hyacinthia was celebrated at the Spartan village of Amyclae (*c.* 5 km. S. of Sparta itself) in honour of Apollo and the beautiful youth Hyacinthus, whom Apollo accidentally killed with a discus. The festival lasted three days, and usually took place in early summer: see Paus. 3.19.3; Athen. 4.139d-f; Hooker 1980: 60–6; Pettersson 1992: 9–41.

περὶ πλείστου δ' ἦγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν 'they considered it of utmost importance to prepare the things of the god'. περὶ πλείστου . . . ἦγον is used like the more common περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖσθαι; for ἄγω in this sense, LSJ s.v. v. Given that the festival lasted for only three days and that the ambassadors were put off for ten, the larger part of the delay may have been due to the preparations for the festival. Indeed, the Spartans could not very well march out many weeks before the festival began if they intended to return in time to celebrate it (Paus. 4.19.4 mentions a forty-day truce during the Second Messenian War: the story is apocryphal, but it nevertheless indicates how much time might reasonably be put aside to arrange for a festival). The Spartans took religion even more seriously than most Greeks (Holladay 1986; Parker 1988; cf. H. 5.63.2), and this is the third time in the Persian Wars where religious considerations are said to have delayed military action: the two earlier examples were the phase of the moon at the time of Marathon (6.106, perhaps because of the Carneia) and the major festival of the Carneia at the time of Thermopylae (7.206). Spartan piety notwithstanding (indeed during the Carneia all Dorians had to abstain from war: Burkert 1985: 234), one may nonetheless doubt whether all of the Spartans had to remain for a festival celebrated at Amyclae. During a Spartan campaign against Corinth in 390 BC, King Agesilaus sent only the soldiers from Amyclae home because 'the people of Amyclae, whether they are on campaign or are for any other reason abroad, always go home for the Hyacinthia in order to sing the paean' (Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.11). This suggests that only the Amyclaeans really needed to be present to celebrate the festival.

τὸ τεῖχος . . . καὶ ἤδη ἐπάλξις ἐλάμβανε 'and their wall was in fact already receiving (lit. 'taking') its battlements'; for ἐπάλξις see Intr. §7.D.3. According to H. the Spartans began building this wall as soon as they learned of Leonidas' death (8.40.2, 71). Diod. 11.16.3 claims that it extended a distance of 40 stades from Lechaeum to Cenchreae, but no certain

archaeological traces have been discovered (Wiseman 1963 and 1978: 60–2; Cartledge 1979: 206; the existing evidence on the Agios Demetrios ridge is (*pace* Wiseman) not necessarily a wall nor must it be dated to 480). It is perhaps suspicious that this wall is always almost but never quite finished, and this despite H.'s repeated emphasis on the eagerness of the Peloponnesians to complete it (8.1 below). At 8.71.2 H. had written that 'with many myriads being present and every man at work, the work was being completed'. Later in this book he speaks as if the wall were complete: at 8.2 he claims that 'the Isthmus had been walled off' and at 10.2 he refers to 'the army which had built the wall' in summer 480. But we are here told that the wall, some nine months after the initial construction, is still ἐν τέλεϊ ('in the act of being completed') and πρὸς τέλει ('near completion', 8.2).

οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων: this reading is to be preferred to Ἀθηνέων, since the Athenians are no longer in Athens; cf. ἐκ Πλαταιέων, since the Plataeans were in a similar situation. These three peoples would receive no benefit or protection from a wall across the Isthmus.

ἀγόμενοι 'bringing along with them'.

τοὺς ἐφόρους: the ephors were a board of five annually-elected magistrates who served as the executive officers of the Spartan Assembly: among their functions they received foreign ambassadors and gave orders for the mobilisation and dispatch of the army (Cartledge 1987: 125–9; and for a full treatment, Richer 1998).

7α.1–β.2 The Athenians' first speech to the ephors

This is the first formal speech in Book 9, and like all of H.'s speeches it is his own invention (Intr. §2). Thematically, the speech echoes the remarks made by the Athenians at the end of Book 8 (143–144), but now more sharply contrasts Athenian action and resolve with Spartan delay and inaction. The characterisation here is in accord with what H. says in his own person at 7.139.5, i.e., that it was the Athenians who roused the other states to battle with the King: see Intr. §3 for H.'s characterisation of both Athenians and Spartans.

7α.1 βασιλεὺς ὁ Μήδων: βασιλεύς is generally used in Greek, without the definite article, to denote the king of Persia (*AGPS* §50.2.18); ὁ Μήδων may be added here for a touch of formality. Although having much in common with the Persians and forming the core of their empire, the Medes were a culturally distinct people. H. knows this, since he narrates the deeds of the Median kings before their conquest by Cyrus at 1.95–107, but, like

the Greeks in general, he usually uses the two names interchangeably: cf. the phrase τὰ Μηδικά = 'the Persian wars' (64.2n.). For a useful summary of the current state of our knowledge of Median culture, see Kuhrt 1996: 652–6.

ἀποδιδοῖ: indicative; see Intr. §7.F.8

ἐπ' ἴσηι τε καὶ ὁμοίηι 'on equal and fair terms'; this phrase is usual in treaties between equal and independent states, but it was not part of the terms formulated by Mardonius (8.140α.4): ἔστε ἐλεύθεροι, ἡμῖν ὁμαιχμίην συνθέμενοι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. This is not surprising since the King was not wont to place himself on an equality with other individuals or states (Kuhrt 1988). The Athenians are clearly exaggerating for effect; in their later speech (11.2 with n.) they acknowledge that as the King's allies they would have a subservient status.

7α.2 Δία ... Ἑλλήνιον: on the lack of article for each element see *AGPS* §50.7.10. It is appropriate here for the Athenians to invoke Zeus in his capacity as god of all the Greeks, picking up on their earlier words to the Spartans: τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἤθεά τε ὁμότροπα (8.144.2). The appeal to pan-Hellenism would hardly have been obvious in 480, since individuals most often identified themselves by their place in the family or by their polis (see E. Hall 1989: 7), and it was, in fact, the Persian Wars that accelerated a sense of common identity amongst the Greeks (see J. Hall 1997: 44–8). On Zeus *Hellanios*, see Pind. *Paeans* 6.125; *Nem.* 5.10; *RE* x.A.303; Cook 1914–40: III.894, V.1164–5 for Aeginetan dedications to Zeus Hellanios of about 470.

δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι: cf. 5.2n.

οὐ μὲν οὐδέ: common in H., and here marking a progression from the preceding οὐ καταινέσαμεν: '(we did not come to terms) ... no, nor indeed *will* we agree'; cf. *GP* 363.

ἑκόντες εἶναι 'if we can help it'; for this use of ἑκών + εἶναι = 'willingly', see Smyth §2012c.

τὸ μὲν ἀπ' ἡμέων 'our conduct', lit. 'the thing from us'.

ἀκίβδηλον: κίβδηλος in H. is used of false (5.91.2) and deceptive (1.66.3) oracles; by contrast the Athenians represent themselves as straightforward in every sense of the word.

νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας: lit., 'extends to (all) the Greeks', with the sense of 'being exercised for the benefit of', the μέν clause here setting up

the contrast with the Spartans (ὑμεῖς δέ) who, in building their wall, are looking out only for themselves.

7β.1 ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην . . . μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν: cf. 8.144.1 for similar remarks by the Athenians to the Spartans. H. attributes the Spartans' fear of an Athenian alliance with Persia to an oracle that the Spartans and all the other Dorians would be driven from the Peloponnese by the Medes and the Athenians (8.141.1).

τότε: when Alexander brought the Persian offer (8.140).

φρόνημα 'resolve', the term encompassing both 'thought' and 'spirit', the same word they had used of themselves at 8.144.1; cf. 54.1 for a different sense in the plural.

τεῖχος . . . ἐν τέλεϊ ἐστι: cf. 7.1 n.

καὶ δή: this combination of particles 'signifies, vividly and dramatically, that something is actually taking place at the moment' (*GP* 250); so although the temporal element is present (on καὶ δή = ἤδη see 6n.), there is also the sense 'of course' (Shuckburgh) or even 'lo and behold'.

συνθέμενοί τε ἡμῖν: yet another exaggeration. The Spartans had only offered to provide for Athenian women and other non-combatants for the duration of the war (8.142.4); they had never promised to march beyond the Isthmus.

7β.2 ἐς . . . τὸ παρεόν 'up to this point', like ἐς ἐμέ 'up to my time'; in this construction the prep. may represent the whole period of time, or the time of the extreme limit: *AGPS* §68.21.10.

ὅ τι τάχος 'as quickly as possible'. The noun τάχος is often used in adverbial phrases for ταχέως; here it functions as if the superlative of the adj.; cf. 5.106.5, ὡς τάχος.

ἐκέλευσαν . . . δεκώμεθα: in purpose clauses H. is fond of retaining the subjunctive even after secondary tenses.

ἡμάρτομεν: the construction of ἁμαρτάνω + gen. 'to fail of having, be deprived of' (LSJ s.v. I.3) is rare in prose.

τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον: the Thriasian plain extends along the Eleusinian Gulf and is the first large plain one comes upon in Attica after passing through the territory of Eleusis.

8.1 δὲ ἄρα: this combination of particles is common in epic and H. to indicate 'a lively feeling of interest' (*GP* 33).

ἐν . . . τούτωι τῶι χρόνωι 'during this time'; for this sense of ἐν, Powell, s.v., D.3.

8.2 οὐδ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν . . . ἄλλο γε ἤ: H.'s ascription of motives is a complex process and runs along a spectrum from straightforward attribution with no narrative intervention to emphatic authorial display (Intr. §2). The latter is called for here in order to obviate an inconsistency in characterisation, since the Spartans before feared an Athenian move to the Persian side, but now seem to have little concern.

ὤρην 'regard' or 'care'.

ὁ Ἰσθμὸς . . . ἐπετετείχιστο: H.'s belief in the centrality of the Isthmian wall to Spartan calculations may be correct, but modern scholars interpret Spartan action differently. It is generally assumed that the Spartans were afraid of a movement against them within the Peloponnese itself and thus were hesitant to march out beyond the Isthmus (Andrewes 1952; Forrest 1968: 97–101; Cartledge 1979: 214–16; *contra* Lazenby 208). H. says that the Argives had promised Mardonius that they would prevent the Spartans from marching out (12); in his digression on Teisamenus (35.2n) he alludes to the fact that the Spartans later defeated the Tegeans and Argives in a battle at Tegea and all of the Arcadians, except the Mantineans, in a battle at Dipaea (both probably between 470 and 465); and finally we are told that the Mantineans and Eleans arrived too late for the battle of Plataea and consequently banished their commanders (77). Additionally, there was the ever-present fear of a helot revolt (cf. 10.1 n.) If it is correct to infer from all of this that the Peloponnese itself was not securely under Spartan control, it might have been prudent for them to wait and see whether Greek naval success in the Aegean would compel Mardonius to withdraw from Greece without a battle. It is possible, of course, that there was no delay at all, that is, that the Spartans fully intended to march out as soon as the Hyacinthia was over, but it took some time to mobilise and provision the largest Greek army ever to take the field, and it suited them to meet the Persians in Attica rather than in Boeotia, where the Persians could use Thebes as their base. The story of delay might have developed in the years after the Persian Wars, when Athenian enmity with Sparta would portray the lapse in time between the Athenian evacuation and the Spartan appearance as due to Spartan cowardice or hostility. The incident may have also been influenced by the delaying tactics of Themistocles at Sparta in 479 (Thuc. 1.90–91), with the Spartans here playing the role opposite to the one in that account. On the problems about when the wall was completed see above and 7.1 n.

καὶ ἐδόκεον . . . οὐδέν 'and they thought they no longer had any need of the Athenians'; the force of οὐδέν is felt both with ἔτι (= οὐκ ἔτι) and δέεσθαι.

οὔκω = οὐ + the indefinite κω (= πω) 'not yet'; on the form see Intr. §7.B.1.

καταρρωδηκότες 'reduced to a state of great fear', lit. 'having come to fear', with the intensive sense of the perfect (*AGPS* §53.3.3).

9.1 τέλος 'finally', 'at last'.

ὑποκρίσιος: gen.; see Intr. §7.D.3.

τρόπος τοιόσδε 'the manner . . . was as follows'. It would be more usual to make ὑπόκρισις and ἔξοδος the subjects and to place τρόπος in the dative (of manner), e.g., τρόπωι τοιῶιδε.

τῆι προτεραίηι . . . καταστάσιος μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι 'on the day before what was going to be the last audience [of the Athenians]'. For the form of κατάστασις cf. Intr. §7.D.3; for its sense as 'audience', Powell s.v., 2.

Χίλεος: Chileus may be placed here for dramatic effect: at the pivotal point in the narrative he delivers the decisive argument. Since the Spartans did not need a Tegean to explain obvious strategy to them, this may well be an example of H. introducing a 'wise advisor' into the narrative (on the motif see Intr. §2). It is surely not coincidental that Chileus makes the very point that H. himself had earlier stated in his own person (7.139, with Solmsen 1944: 247 and Cartledge 1979: 206–7): that not even many walls across the Isthmus would have saved the Spartans, had the Athenians joined the Persians. Instead of making a second authorial intervention into the narrative, H. is using the 'warner' Chileus to reinforce his own personal view. On the other hand, if H. records an actual meeting of Chileus with the ephors, it may be that, given the strained relations between Sparta and Tegea both before and after the invasion of Xerxes, Chileus was able to reassure the Spartans of Tegea's loyalty (Burn 504–5; Lazenby 215).

δυνάμενος . . . μέγιστον 'having the greatest influence' rather than 'power' (Powell s.v. δύναμαι, II), since the Tegean could only try to sway the Spartans rather than compel them; so Mardonius is also characterised in relation to Xerxes as δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῶι μέγιστον Περσέων (7.5.1).

9.2 ἀρθμίων 'joined'; a poetic word, used once by Homer (*Od.* 16.427, cf. ἀρθμέω, *Il.* 7.302), it derives from ἀρ-θμος 'bond' (cf. ἀραρίσκω), and suggests something stronger and more visually dramatic than φίλοι; it may also have an emotional connotation lacking in the following τῶι δὲ βαρβάρωι σύμμαχοι.

καίπερ τείχεος ... καρτεροῦ 'however strong the wall be stretched across the isthmus'; the adjective is emphatic by position.

μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτέαται 'great gates stand open', the pf. tense here emphasising the present reality; on the verb's form, Intr. §7.F.3. Chileus does not explain what he means, but given that his words echo H.'s own at 7.139, the gates must be the sea, over which a combined Athenian-Persian force would have control. The image of 'open gates' might also be a reminder to the Spartans of how they were encircled at Thermopylae.

ἐσακούσατε 'give heed to [sc. the Athenians' request]' rather than 'comply with' (Powell, s.v.).

τι ἄλλο: as often in Greek, the nature of some evil is euphemistically unspoken.

σφάλμα 'a fall'; cf. σφάλλω, 'trip up'; for the phrase cf. 7.6.4, σφάλμα φέρον τῶι βαρβάρωι. The image is borrowed from wrestling: the Athenians, if they take the Persian side, will bring the Greeks to their knees. For the similarity of martial and athletic metaphors see Golden 1998: 23–8, and below, 26.7, 33.2, 64.1, 101.3.

φέρον: the participle agrees with τι ἄλλο.

10.1 φράσαντες οὐδέν: see 49.1 with n. for similar Spartan silence.

τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι ἀπιγμένοισι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων: H. here reminds us that although it was the Athenians who made the speech, envoys in fact had come from Plataea and Megara as well (7.1). On the form ἀπιγμένοισι see Intr. §7.A.1.

νυκτὸς ἔτι: why the Spartans marched out by night and in secret is unclear. H. himself does not give an explanation, but the implication of his narrative is that the purpose was to keep Argos in the dark (so Burn 506); by the time the Argives knew that the army had left the borders of Laconia, it was too late to stop the Spartans, as they had promised Mardonius that they would. This delay and night-time mobilisation are unlikely to have been the ephors' idea of a joke, caused by their annoyance at the Athenians' importunity (as Lazenby 215–16 suggests). The Spartan state was known for its secrecy in military affairs (Thuc. 5.68.2) and the Spartans themselves were familiar with movement in darkness. Spartans were not allowed to walk with a torch at night (Xen. *Lac.* 5.7; Plut. *Lyc.* 12.4) and at least some of them will have gone through the *krypteia* (a rite of passage whereby select young men were sent out into the countryside armed with only a dagger and by night killed as many helots as they could find: Plato, *Laws* 633b; Plut., *Lyc.* 28). According to Diod. (11.10) the Spartans

at Thermopylae attacked the Persian camp by night (on this tradition see Flower 1998).

πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιητέων: 5,000 was apparently two thirds of the Spartan citizens of military age, since H. has Demaratus tell Xerxes that the total number of Spartan men was 8,000 (7.234.2, with Cartledge 1987: 37).

καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τάξαντες τῶν εἱλώτων 'assigning seven (of the) helots to each man'. These words are not found in some MSS, but should stand (cf. Plut. *Arist.* 10). Helots were the native inhabitants of Laconia and Messenia who had been collectively enslaved by the Spartans. They differed from slaves in that they seem to have been the property of the Spartan state rather than of the individual masters upon whose estates they laboured. See esp. Hodkinson 2000: 113–49, and for full treatment, Ducat 1990. Most modern scholars (e.g. Cartledge 1979: 175, 208 and Lazenby 227–8) find the number of them taken to be impossibly high, but the Spartans may have had good reasons for removing as many helots from the Peloponnese as possible (Hunt 1998: 38–9). Given that there was possibly a revolt of the Messenian helots in the late 490s (Plato, *Laws* 698 d–e, with Cartledge 1979: 153–4 and Hunt 1998: 26–39), it might have been more dangerous to leave them behind than to bring them along as light-armed troops. See further 28.1, 29.1 nn.

Παυσανίηι: one of the most eminent and controversial figures of his time: for the background to his presentation in H. see Intr. §3. Pausanias would have been in his mid-twenties (White 1964 cogently argues that he was born *c.* 505). This was probably his first command and it may also have been his first experience of real battle (as opposed to military exercises and the roughing up of helots), and that fact may go far to explain some of his apparent ineptitude and indecisiveness at Plataea. Despite his youth and inexperience, Pausanias was given the command because he was the regent for his under-age cousin (see Fig. 1) and thus exercised a king's right to lead the army. The Eurypontid King Leotychidas had already been given command of the Hellenic fleet in the spring of 479 (8.131); it is possible, therefore, that the Spartans were expecting the naval campaign of 479 to be more important than operations on land (as suggested by Lazenby 208–10), and thus Leotychidas, who was older and more experienced than Pausanias, was assigned to the fleet. The situation was just the opposite in 480 when Leonidas was in command of the army and Eurybiadas was the admiral in overall command of the fleet.

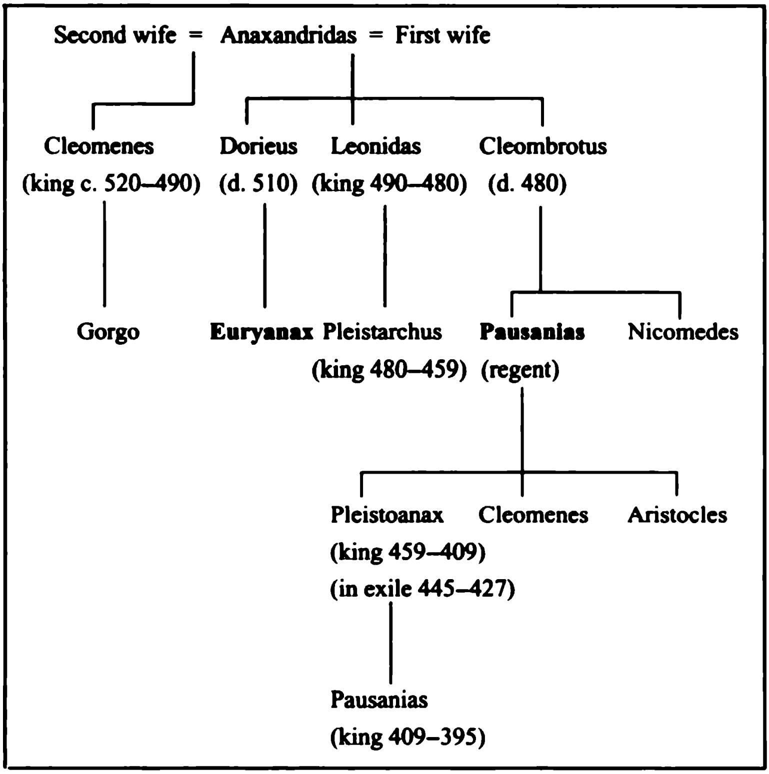


Fig. 1 Family tree of Pausanias

ἐξάγειν: sc. εἰς μάχην. Simonides describes this scene of departure with much more of a fanfare: the Spartans are accompanied by divine escorts, the Tyndaridae (Castor and Pollux) and Menelaus. Pausanias, moreover, is given an emphatic introduction which highlights his heroic status: see App. A, F 11.33–4.

10.2 ἐγίνετο μέν νυν ἡ ἡγεμονίη Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω 'Now the right of leading the army belonged to Pleistarchus, the son of Leonidas'. The enclitic νυν can function rather like the non-temporal 'now' of English (as in the translation above). There is no corresponding δέ clause, the adversative being taken up by ἀλλ' which has its own μέν ... δέ clause. For ἀλλά answering a μέν clause see *GP* 5–7. As Arist. *Pol.* 1285a3–16 points out, the two Spartan kings were hereditary military leaders; although they had certain privileges (6.56–60) they were not absolute monarchs in the way the Persian kings were.

ὁ μέν . . . ὁ δέ: Pleistarchus . . . Pausanias.

ἐπίτροπος 'guardian'; it was in this capacity that he could be considered regent. Cf. Thuc. 1.132.1–2.

ἀνεψιός 'first cousin': see Fig. 1.

Παυσανίεω μὲν πατήρ, Ἀναξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς 'the father of Pausanias and the son of Anaxandridas': μέν and δέ are correlative, not adversative. Cleombrotus, the youngest son of King Anaxandridas, served as regent for his nephew from the death of his brother Leonidas in August 480 to his own death shortly after 2 Oct. 480.

δείμασαν: aor. act. participle of δέμω. For the wall, see 7.1 n.

βιούς: aor. act. participle of βιόω; cf. Thuc. 2.53.4.

10.3 θυομένωι οἱ 'when he was sacrificing': dat. of interest (Smyth §1479ff.). For the importance of military divination see 19.2n., 33.1 n.

ἐπὶ τῶι Πέρσηι 'with regard to the Persian', i.e., when he was sacrificing to determine whether or not he should take some action vis à vis the Persians.

ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη: this partial solar eclipse took place on 2 Oct. 480. If Cleombrotus was 'sacrificing with regard to the Persian' at the time when it occurred, this can only mean that he originally had intended to engage the Persian army (and unless H. is exaggerating at 8.72, he had a huge Peloponnesian force under his command). Although H. (8.113) says that Xerxes withdrew to Boeotia a few days (ὀλίγας ἡμέρας) after the battle of Salamis (end of Sept. 480), it is possible that Xerxes and his army were still in Attica on 2 Oct. Lazenby (202; cf. HW 290) suggests that it was really their continued presence rather than the eclipse which deterred Cleombrotus from advancing beyond the Isthmus; but such speculations miss the point. An eclipse was sufficient to stop an army in its tracks no matter what the commander really wanted to do: cf. the Athenians at Syracuse, Thuc. 7.50.4. On several later occasions earthquakes caused Spartan campaigns to be aborted in mid-course (Thuc. 3.89.1, 6.95.1; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.24; with Parker 1988: 156). For Spartan attitudes to border-crossing sacrifices, see 19.2n.

προσαιρέεται δὲ ἑωυτῶι: this seems to mean that Euryanax became his colleague in the actual exercise of the command: see his role at 53 and 55.

Εὐρυάνακτα τὸν Δωριέος: Dorieus can only be the second son of King Anaxandridas, who perished *c.* 510 while attempting to establish a colony in Sicily (5.39–48; White 1964: 150). But if that is so, it is unclear why Euryanax did not become king instead of his uncle Leonidas upon the death of Cleomenes in 490. The most economical explanation is that at

Sparta kingship (and, by analogy, regency) always passed to the nearest kinsman of the previous king (see Carlier 1984: 240–8). It is highly unlikely (*pace* White 1964: 150) that Euryanax was illegitimate (his mother being a helot or slave) and thus was ineligible to become either king or regent (who exercised all the prerogatives of the king); for in that case Pausanias would not have given him a share in the command, even if only an advisory one. The bastard sons of Spartiates could not become full citizens (controversial, but see Hodkinson 1997: 53–62).

11.1–2 The final speech and departure of the Athenians

The tone of this speech, bitter and threatening, reflects the Athenians' final disillusion with the Spartans; it also contains the clearest threat to medise made by the Athenians in the *Histories*. Whether or not it is historical, it suggests an important truth: that although, as H. himself said, without the Athenians the Spartans and the rest of Greece could not have held out against the Persians (7.139.3–5), nevertheless, without Spartan help, the Athenians equally could not have prevailed (cf. 11.1 n.).

11.1 αὐτοῦ τῆιδε 'here in this place'.

ἄγετε 'celebrate'; for ἄγω in this sense of 'hold' a festival, see Powell s.v. v.1.

παίζετε: has a double meaning here: on the one hand, the verb refers to the singing and dancing which took place on the second day of the Hyacinthia (Athen. 4.139d–f); but its primary meaning is 'play' or 'jest', and in H. it always has this meaning. The Athenians bitterly bid the Spartans, 'celebrate your festival and have fun'.

καταπροδόντες 'utterly betraying'; strong language; the juxtaposition with παίζετε emphasises the tragic consequences of Spartan inaction.

χήτεϊ: a rare word, and only here in H.; cf. *Il.* 6.463: χήτεϊ τοιοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς ἀμύνειν δούλιον ἦμαρ. The Homeric echo suggests that just as Andromache could not maintain her freedom without Hector, so too without Spartan assistance the Athenians could not hope to resist the Persians.

καταλύσονται τῶι Πέρσηι 'will come to an agreement with the Persian'; the verb means 'put an end to', with πόλεμον or τὰς ἐχθράς (as at 7.146.1) understood; cf. the similar use of the middle at 8.140α.4. This is the clearest threat yet by the Athenians; there is a noteworthy escalation from their earlier speech, with a prediction (in the next sentence) of the consequences to the Spartans.

11.2 γινόμεθα 'we will become'; on the form of the verb, Intr. §7.B.3. The present for future is rare in Greek, but does occur and 'may represent a surreal vision of the future as directly present to the senses of the speaker' (*AGPS* §53.1.6). For another example cf. 7.8α.2, κῦδος ἡμῖν προσγινόμενον ('praise will come to us'). Although their action may seem inconsistent with the noble sentiments they had previously expressed, the Athenians had said that they would never become Persian allies *willingly*, and they have by this time clearly given up on the Spartans; and so H. has the speaker imagine, perhaps with a touch of hyperbole, what the Greek world might have looked like had the Athenians been forced to come to terms with the Persians.

συστρατευσόμεθα . . . ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγέωνται: where once they said the King had offered them an alliance 'on equal and fair terms' (7α.1 with n.), the Athenians now more realistically indicate what sort of position they would have with a Persian master.

ἐπὶ τήν: sc. γῆν.

τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν 'thereafter'; cf. 60.2.

ὁκοῖον ἂν . . . ἐκβαίνηι: indirect questions generally take the indicative (Smyth §2677); ἄν + subjunctive here may be mirroring the Homeric κε + subjunctive (cf. *Od.* 23.140: φρασσόμεθ' ὅττι κε κέρδος Ὀλύμπιος ἐγγυαλίξηι). There is, in any case, something sinister in the tone. For a similar threat, cf. *Il.* 1.240–5, where Achilles predicts what will happen to the Achaeans when he abandons the battlefield; cf. also 1.411–12.

ἐξ αὐτοῦ 'from it', i.e. their alliance with the Persian.

ἐπ' ὅρκου 'upon oath'.

καὶ δὴ δοκέειν εἶναι ἐν Ὀρεσθείωι 'that they thought that they [sc. the troops] were already in Orestheion'; for καὶ δή = ἤδη, see 6n. Something such as τοὺς στρατιώτας or Σπαρτιήτας must be supplied as the subject of εἶναι. The Spartans were following the longer route which went up the Eurotas and then northwest to Orestheion (which was in the vicinity of the later Megalopolis) rather than taking the more direct route via Sellasia to Tegea. Their primary concern was probably not to avoid the Argive frontier, but, as was also the case with king Agis in 418 (Thuc. 5.64.3, 72.3), to take the easiest way out of Laconia for an army travelling with wagons: see Cartledge 1979: 208 and Lazenby 217.

ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους: it is a mark of Spartan xenophobia that they alone made no distinction between Greeks from other *poleis* and non-Greeks.

11.3 οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτων τὸ λεγόμενον: the repeated question of the ambassadors is a fine bit of narrative detail. They move from ignorance (οὐκ εἰδότες) to knowledge (ἐξέμαθον) to wonder (ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι).

πᾶν τὸ ἐόν 'the whole truth'; for ἐόν = 'the truth' see Powell s.v. εἰμί, s.v. ἐών, 4.

τὴν ταχίστην: sc. ὁδόν.

τῶν περιοίκων: the perioeci were the free-born inhabitants of Laconia who were neither Spartan citizens (Spartiates), nor state slaves like the helots (10.1 n.); they possessed some independence, but followed the Spartans in foreign policy; for a comprehensive recent treatment see Shipley 1997. Together with the Spartiates they comprised the 'Lacedaemonians', although H. and other authors often use 'Lacedaemonians' and 'Spartiates' interchangeably. At this time the perioeci were brigaded in separate regiments from the Spartiates (see 70.5n.).

12–15.3 Mardonius moves to the vicinity of Thebes

12.1 Ἀργεῖοι: it is unclear why the Argives medised; H. knows several explanations, and while they all share a common denominator in Argive distrust of Sparta, the characterisation of the Argives seems to have run from active medisers who invited the Persians into Greece, to scrupulous people who faithfully followed an oracle which bade them remain aloof from the fighting (7.148–152).

ἐπείτε τάχιστα 'as soon as'; for other examples of this construction (construed with both impf. and aor.) cf. Powell, s.v. ἐπείτε, 1.2.

τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων: partitive gen. with τὸν ἄριστον; for Pheidippides, the famous 'day runner' between Athens and Sparta, see 6.105.

αὐτοί 'of their own accord'.

ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ ἐξιέναι 'having promised that they would prevent the Spartans from going out': for μή instead of οὐ after a verb of promising, see *MT* §685, 807(c), and 12.2n. on οὐ δυνατοί. τὸν Σπαρτιήτην is a collective singular: cf. ἡ νεότης in the next section. One may doubt whether Argos had sufficiently recovered from her crushing defeat at Sepeia in 494, when 6,000 Argives were slain by the Spartans (6.76–80; 7.148–149), to challenge Sparta militarily in 479. Perhaps this was a promise which the Argives never intended to keep.

12.2 ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας: as a κῆρυξ, not an ἄγγελος, he presumably would have had the rights attendant on heralds, and would thus be able to get past the fortified and guarded Isthmus.

φράσοντα: future participle to express purpose.

ἡ νεότης: a collective singular (cf. 12.1 n.), here = οἱ νέοι, 'the youth of military age' (cf. 4.3.1 and Thuc. 2.21.2 for a similar use of this abstract); this seems to be a Spartan technical term for those citizens from 20 to 44 years old inclusively (Cartledge 1987: 21).

οὐ δυνατοί . . . μὴ οὐκ ἐξιέναι 'not able to check it [sc. the youth] from going out'; for μὴ οὐ after a preceding negation, see *MT* §815.2; *AGPS* §67.12.3.A.

13.1 τύγχανε εὖ βουλευόμενος 'make sure that you take the proper counsel', a somewhat stronger expression than the simple εὖ βουλεύεσθε. The imperative of τυγχάνω has a sense similar to English 'make it happen'.

ἀνεκώχευε: sc. ἑωυτόν: 'he was restraining himself'.

τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίων: the τό is proleptic and explained in the indirect question ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι.

ἐπήμαινε: an epic word: see *Il.* 3.299, 15.42.

13.2 ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμον ἐσβαλεῖν 'arrived at the Isthmus'.

εἴ κού τι: the indefinites ('if anything anywhere') suggest that Mardonius' ἵμερος (3.1 n.), held in check, now spends itself with uncontrolled fury.

πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας: Xerxes had already set fire to the Acropolis in 480 (8.53.2). Now that any hope of winning over the Athenians to his side had faded, Mardonius determined to demolish as much of Athens as he could (for the archaeological evidence see Camp 1986: 59–60 and Shear 1993). Although H. is probably exaggerating for effect, the general picture is confirmed by Thuc. (1.89.3), who says that when the Athenians returned home after Plataea only short stretches of wall and a few houses (in which the Persian elite had encamped) were still standing. Some temples may also have survived (Paus. 1.18.1, 20.2). συγχώννυμι may have here its basic meaning of 'heap together' (i.e. the burnt rubble of ruined buildings), as well as its meaning (49.3) of 'heaped with earth' (that is, 'clogged'): some ten wells have been found in Athens which were purposely clogged with dug bedrock, building debris, and potter's clay at the time of the Persian invasion (Shear 1993, esp. 417).

13.3 τῶνδε εἵνεκεν: H. is probably guessing, but most modern scholars (*contra* Lazenby 217–18) have accepted his analysis. In view of his later problems with lack of supplies (45.2), Mardonius' strongest motive may have been to fight in the vicinity of Thebes.

οὔτε . . . τε: cf. 1.1 n.

εἰ . . . νικῷτο: the optative without ἄν is the usual way to express a future more vivid condition (subjunctive + ἄν) in indirect discourse after a secondary tense (Smyth §2619).

συμβαλών 'after joining in battle', here as elsewhere in Book 9, this verb ('to give battle', 'to engage the enemy') is used in its usual intransitive sense (Powell s.v., 1).

ἀπάλλαξις 'an escape route'; only here in H. and very rare elsewhere.

ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινόν 'except by a narrow pass'; for ὅτι μή see Smyth §2765.

πρὸς πόλι . . . ἱππασίμωι 'near a city which was friendly and a land which was suited for cavalry'.

14 ὑπεξεχώρεε 'was withdrawing slowly' suggests that he was not in a hurry and thus makes it more likely that subsequently he did in fact wheel round his whole army towards the Megarid (see below).

ἀγγελίη πρόδρομος: the phrase must mean a message sent out too soon (so Weber 1935: 360–1, using the evidence of Hesychius), and therefore running the risk of being wrong. The report that Mardonius gets of 1,000 troops is erroneous, and the next message that comes (15.1) reports that the Greeks are all together at the Isthmus. Schweighäuser's πρόδρομον is less likely, since there is no evidence that the 1,000 Lacedaemonians were an 'advance guard'.

θέλων εἴ κως . . . ἕλοι: a compressed formula for θέλων ἑλεῖν εἴ κως δύναιτο. Most modern historians have not believed H.'s ascription of motive; for various suggestions as to the 'real' purpose of this movement (reconnaissance, cavalry screen, attempt to block passes), see Lazenby 219.

ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιήν: the modern consensus (accepted even by Lazenby 219) is that Mardonius sent back only his cavalry. But H. is unambiguous: ἡ δὲ ἵππος προελθοῦσα indicates that the entire army turned back, and there is no compelling reason to doubt this.

ἡ . . . ἵππος 'the cavalry', a collective noun for οἱ ἱππέες; other examples at Powell s.v. II.2. (The fem. sing. can also mean 'mare'.)

κατιππάσατο: the cavalry may have reached as far as Pegae, if there is any substance to the story told in Paus. 1.40.2–3, 44.4 that a rock stuck with arrows (said to be those of the Medes) was shown in his day; Paus. adds that the Medes, having used up their arrows, were cut down by the Megarians on the next day. The whole story, however, has the hallmark of an invented oral tradition (cf. Intr. §5d) intended to enhance the Megarian role in the war by having the Persians actually suffer losses in their territory.

χώρην: this suggests that the Persians overran only the agricultural outskirts, the χώρη proper, of the Megarians, not the ἄστυ.

ἑκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης 'the farthest point in Europe'.

τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος: 'towards the setting sun', i.e., 'westward'. H. refers to the Megarid, which actually is not as far west as Thessaly, Thermopylae, or Delphi. Perhaps H. meant 'towards the southwest', which would be true.

ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιή: a reference to the Persian force of 480/79. *CAH* iv².582–3 maintains that H. here distinguishes the army of Mardonius from that of Xerxes, but this is unlikely, given that he had not mentioned any earlier advance of Xerxes' infantry either into or beyond the Megarid.

15.1 ἁλέες εἴησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες 'the Hellenes were gathered together'; since the Athenians joined the rest of the army at Eleusis (19.2), the message is not quite accurate.

βοιωτάρχαι: the Boeotarchs were the executive officers (or senior magistrates) of the Boeotian Confederacy. Probably 9 in number at this time (with Thebes providing two of them), they formed a council of war and exercised supreme command over Boeotian military forces: see Buck 1979: 124–5, 156–7.

τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων: οἱ Ἀσώπιοι must be the people who live in the valley of the Asopus river; οἱ πρόσχωροι as a substantive means 'neighbours'. H. probably does not mean 'the neighbours of the Asopians' but, as is more likely, 'those who dwell around the Asopus'. Yet if that is the case, he has expressed himself most oddly. There is no other instance of Ἀσώπιοι in Greek; possibly the text is corrupt.

15.2 νύκτα 'for the night'.

ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους 'he cleared the land of trees' (cf. 5.63.4); κείρω refers to any shearing action; cf. 24 where it is used of shaving.

οὔτι: a strengthened form of οὐ; see *AGPS* §69.54.0.

ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐχόμενος: although the concept of 'necessity' is of great importance in H., particularly in regard to fate (see Intr. §6c), H. here seems to mean no more than the opposite of 'willingly', i.e., Mardonius would have preferred not to damage the land of his allies, but under the circumstances he had to.

ἔρυμά τε . . . ποιήσασθαι 'to have a defensive wall built for the camp'; ποιέω in the middle often has this sense: Powell, s.v. B.I.1 (but cf. 5.2n.).

ἤν συμβαλόντι . . . ἐθέλοι 'if, when he engaged, it did not turn out for him as he wished'. The indirect question ὁκοῖόν τι ἐθέλοι gives the subject of μὴ ἐκβαίνηι, which in turn governs the dative συμβαλόντι οἱ. For the meaning here of συμβάλλω, cf. 13.3n.

κρησφύγετον 'a place of refuge', a rare word used only 4 times by H. (cf. 96.3 below; 5.124.2, 8.51.2, the old men's mistaken belief about the 'wooden wall'). The derivation is uncertain (Chantraine, s.v.); the ancients connected the κρησ- with the Cretans, but cf. Kapsomenos 1963.

15.3 παρῆκε 'was extending along' (< παρήκω, cf. 1, παρῆκε < παρίημι).

ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων παρὰ Ὑσιάς ... παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον: the exact location of Erythrae and Hysiae is controversial, but they were certainly south of the Asopus (see Fossey 1988: 101–26). Mardonius' army was stationed along the north bank of the river, but H. needed to use Erythrae, Hysiae, and Plataea as markers of the extent and position of the Persian line, because there were no towns on the north bank in the vicinity of the Persian army.

ὡς ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστα κῃ 'about ten stades'; μάλιστα with κῃ or κου + numeral means 'approximately'. A square with sides of 10 stades (*c.* 2,000m.) long contains an area of about 900 acres. Burn 511, by a comparison with much smaller Roman legionary camps, calculates that this could hold an army of 60–70,000 men, of whom not more than 10,000 were cavalry. But cf. 32.2n.

μέτωπον ἕκαστον 'on each side' (acc. of respect).

15.4–16.5 The banquet at Thebes and the speech of the Persian

This story, if true, would give us a rare glimpse into personal contacts between Greeks and Persians. Suspicion is difficult to avoid, however, since the scene mirrors aristocratic Greek symposia, although on a much larger scale: such events were a common locus for philosophical reflections of the sort we find here; on the institution see Murray 1990b. Moreover, as we can tell from his own remarks (16.1n.), H. clearly foresaw disbelief in this story from his audience, and for good reason. Both from what we know of historical probability (16.2n.) and because the Persian's speech so unequivocally reinforces Herodotean themes (16.2–4n., 16.4n.), it is difficult to believe that the speech can ever have been given, at least in the form H. presents. This is not to say, of course, that the banquet itself is not historical, but rather that H. has fashioned for what may have been a real event a context that is wholly Greek and Homeric (16.2–3nn.); cf. 16.2–4n. and Gould 1989: 19–20.

15.4 Ἀτταγῖνος: he was one of the leaders of the Theban oligarchy and one of two medisers whose extradition the Greek allies demanded after the

battle (86.1). Plut. *Her. mal.* 864E claims that Demaratus, the exiled Spartan king, was a guest-friend of Attaginus and arranged for him to become a 'friend and guest-friend' of the Persian king.

παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως: the magnificent feast is the first of several references to food in Book 9: see esp. 82 with n. The Alexander-historian Cleitarchus gave an obviously sarcastic reconstruction of the menu of this banquet (*FGrHist* 137 F 1 = Athen. 148e–f), but there is no historical value in it; rather, he tells it mainly to ridicule the Thebans, who were often the butt of such jibes.

ἐκάλεε ἐπὶ ξείνια 'invited for hospitality'; τὰ ξείνια (on the form, Intr. §7.C.2) are the gifts attendant on guest-friendship, which would include feasting. This is the usual term in Attic decrees for inviting foreign ambassadors to dine in the *prytaneion*; see, e.g., ML 90. 24–5 = Fornara 180 (dated to 408/7): καλέσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον.

κληθέντες . . . εἵποντο 'and these came in response to the invitation'.

16.1 τάδε . . . τὰ ἐπίλοιπα 'these things that follow'.

ἤκουον: it is rare for the narrator to use the impf. in this way (the aorist ἤκουσα being generally preferred outside of Book 2: Marincola 1987), but the vividness of the impf. supports the claim more intensely: the sense is 'I was (actually) hearing'.

Θερσάνδρου: the citation of an informant by name in H. is rare (see Intr. §4); and H. repeats the name in §5 below, no doubt because he realises the fantastically prescient nature of the speech which sums up many of the themes of his own work (16.2–4n.).

λογίμου . . . ἐς τὰ πρῶτα: 'of the highest renown'; for the use of τὰ πρῶτα, cf. 7.134.2, χρήμασι ἀνήκειν ἐς τὰ πρῶτα. Cf. also 78.1 n.

Θηβαίων ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα: this suggests that the only non-Theban was Thersander.

ἑκατέρους: because each couch accommodated two men.

κλῖναι 'he reclined them' or 'he had (them) recline'; the subject is Attaginus.

16.2–4 The speech of the Persian

This brief but poignant speech has many points of contact with Xerxes' speech to Artabanus at the Hellespont (7.45–50). There, as here, there are reflections on the brevity of life (7.46), and the Persian's remarks here on the impending destruction of the army have already been hinted at

by Artabanus earlier (see esp. 7.49–50). For all their similarities, however, the Persian's speech here has resonances that are wholly lacking in that earlier conversation. Indeed, what rouses such great suspicion about the historicity of the speech is that it sums up so conveniently many of the themes found throughout the *Histories*: the gap between human and divine purpose; the working out of divine ordinance; failure to believe warnings (the wise advisor motif: Intr. §2); and the contrast between freedom and subjection to the will of others. Its literary purpose, however, could hardly be clearer: here, before the great land battle between Persians and Greeks – 'the fairest victory of all those we know' (64.1 n.) – the divine and human elements of causation (Intr. §6c) fall perfectly into place together. This is not a narrative 'prop' (Fehling 1989: 117), but rather a meditation by the author on some of the most profound questions that his research into the past had raised for him and his audience.

16.2 ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν 'they were finished with dinner', cf. 1.126.3; cf. the Homeric ἀπὸ δ' αὐτοῦ [sc. δείπνου] θωρήσσοντο (*Il.* 8.54). The drinking of wine at a symposium always took place after the eating was finished and became the focus of elaborate ritualisation; see Murray 1990b: 6; cf. Schmitt-Pantel 1990 on the importance of the meal.

διαπινόντων 'as they were drinking to each other'.

Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἱέντα 'speaking in Greek'; for the noun Ἑλλάς used adjectivally see *AGPS* §57.1.4. H. is fairly careful about maintaining credibility when people of different cultures confront each other, and (*pace* Fehling 1989: 100) he often refers to translators: see 1.86.4, 3.38.4, 4.24, et al. Similarly the prescient Persian here conveniently knows Greek – perhaps appropriately, since his speech is full of Greek, and specifically Herodotean, belief. In fact, it must have been a rarity for a Persian to speak Greek with any fluency. Even Cyrus the Younger, who had a prolonged and intimate association with Greek mercenaries, could speak to them only through an interpreter (Xen. *An.* 1.8.12). In his *Persians*, the late 5th-c. poet Timotheus of Miletus depicts a Phrygian begging for mercy in pidgin Greek (*PMG* 791. 150–61).

ποδαπός 'from what city'; the word occurs thrice in H., always used by inquiring Persians. The entire train of events here is strongly Homeric: strangers dine together and only after they have dined does one ask a man's particulars and convey to him his wisdom; cf. Telemachus at the court of Nestor (*Od.* 4. 1ff.) or Odysseus amongst the Phaeacians (*Od.* 8.550–1), and the Homeric formulaic line, τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες; (*Od.* 1.170, et al.).

ὁμοτράπεζος: the term is used of a select group of the Persian king's men and such an honour bound a person closely to the King (Briant 1996: 330; cf. Democedes who was ὁμοτράπεζος βασιλεῖ, 3.132.1). The Persian here suggests an attachment stronger than the mere fact of their dining together; and see next n.

ὁμόσπονδος: not simply a drinking partner, but more solemnly 'one who shares in the libation' that would have been poured to the gods when the drinking commenced.

μνημόσυνα ... καταλιπέσθαι 'to leave behind memorials'; since μνημόσυνον is generally used for a single monument (2.136.3, 4.166.1), the plural suggests several memorable features of the Persian's speech. Leaving a 'monument' is important in H., carrying with it associations of remembrance, and the erection of monuments is generally the prerogative of kings or queens (μνημόσυνον occurs frequently in the narrative of the pharaohs in Book 2), or those who have accomplished great feats (Mandrocles bridging the Bosporus, 4.88.2). This is one of only three times that it is used for a non-physical monument: the other two are Miltiades' characterisation of the right decision to fight at Marathon as a μνημόσυνον that Callimachus can leave behind him (6.109.3) and the Spartan Dieneces' ready wit before Thermopylae (7.226.2); see further Immerwahr 1960: 266–7. The use of the middle λιπέσθαι suggests that one 'leaves behind for oneself' a memorial, i.e. the μνημόσυνον is an integral element in the desire for κλέος, and so H.'s preservation of the Persian's remarks serves to immortalise him and provide for him (ironically, an unnamed man!) his *literary* monument. On the close relationship between monument and glory, see Immerwahr 1960: 265–75.

γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς 'of my insight': the word γνώμη has several senses ranging from 'understanding' to 'belief' to '(correct) judgement', even (as here) to 'insight'; see Snell 1924: 31–9.

προειδὼς ... τὰ συμφέροντα: for the sentiment see 1.20, ὅκως ἄν τι προειδὼς πρὸς τὸ παρεὸν βουλεύηται (Periander informing Alyattes about an oracle). What plan the Persian supposes is left unclear.

16.3 ὁρᾷς ... τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν: strictly speaking, this man cannot 'see' the army left behind; one must therefore either assume a slight zeugma ('do you see the men here and [did you see] the army we left behind'?), or interpret ὁρᾷς as 'consider'.

τούτων πάντων ... περιγενομένους: the remarks echo those of Xerxes at the Hellespont (7.46–47), who, in reviewing his troops in all their splendour, was moved to reflect on the brevity of life. Yet whereas Xerxes and Artabanus in that earlier scene spoke of the sadness of human

life in general, the Persian here is uttering a prediction about this specific group of Persians (τοὺς δαινυμένους Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατόν), in which he himself, of course, must be included. The recognition of the nearness of his own death and the refusal nevertheless to flee recalls the heroes of Homeric epic, and imparts to the Persian a sense of tragic grandeur which validates his worthiness to renown. It is worth noting that Simonides (F 19) had similar reflections on the brevity of life, and it is possible that these remarks formed the *sphragis* of his poem on Plataea (see Rutherford: 2001: 50; cf. Sider 2001: 278–80). The placing of such traditional Greek sentiments in the mouth of the Persian here might be Herodotean innovation. For the permeability of the Greek/barbarian distinction see Intr. §6b.

ὄψεαι: for the lack of contraction, Intr. §7.F.4.

ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος 'when a little time has passed'; cf. Xerxes at the Hellespont, 7.46.2. Xerxes' 'hundred years' (ibid.) – a grand unit of time befitting a monarch – has come down for the Persians to a very small amount of time indeed.

τε ἅμα . . . λέγειν καὶ μετιέναι 'and as he spoke . . . he sent forth': H. often uses parataxis (where both events are given in parallel construction) with τε . . . καί to express simultaneity, whereas English would use subordination to get this across. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 6.321, 7.289; Brouwer 1975: 53–4, and for similar constructions, cf. below, 47, 55.1, 57.3, 92.1.

μετιέναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων 'he sent forth many a tear', more solemn and poetic than the simple ἐδάκρυσε, with overtones of the Homeric δάκρυα ἧκεν χαμᾶζε (*Od.* 16.191, cf. 23.33). τῶν δακρύων is partitive genitive; for the generic use of the article (*AGPS* §50.3.5), cf. 7.188.3 with Stein ad loc. Weeping at moments of reflection on life and death is common in H.: see Flory 1978.

16.4 αὐτὸς δέ: sc. Thersander.

οὐκῶν 'well, then, isn't it right . . . ': Questions with οὐκ οὖν (οὐκοῦν) 'are often asked when the speaker himself is in no doubt and is merely calling, or affecting to call, for another's concurrence. They are then the equivalent of an affirmative statement . . . with a shift from e.g. "is it not right?" through "it's right, don't you think?" to "it's right, you'll agree"' (Barrett 1964: 331–2). The distinction drawn by Denniston between the 'even, unemotional character' of οὐκῶν (*GP* 433) and the 'lively, emotional' οὔκων, characteristic of tragedy (ibid. 431) suggests the latter as the more appropriate form here; but the accentual distinction is based on later grammarians, and cannot be presumed for the 5th c. (Barrett 1964: 221).

χρεόν: what Thersander sees as the Persian's 'necessity' is answered by the latter in his response, where he substitutes for Thersander's χρεόν what he sees as true necessity, ὅ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. See below.

τοῖσι ... Περσέων 'or to those of the Persians who are in repute after him'. ἐν αἴνηι (αἴνη = αἶνος in its sense of 'praise' or 'fame', LSJ s.v. II; = ἔπαινος) is an extremely rare phrase, not occurring before H.; cf. 3.74.2 (of Prexaspes) and 8.112.2 (of Themistocles).

ξεῖνε: solemn and friendly at the same time; this form of address is usually used for someone of whom something is known, but not for someone with whom one is well acquainted (Dickey 1996: 148); moreover, the term is generally used by a native addressing a foreigner (ibid. 146), so the opposite use here is noteworthy: in the thoroughly Greek milieu of this incident, it is not surprising that the Persian can speak as if a compatriot.

ὅ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ 'what must come about from the god', i.e., 'what the god has determined must happen'; for the importance of this passage and for H.'s notions of fate and causality, see Intr. §6c. It is fairly certain that no Persian at this date is likely to have expressed such a belief. During the Achaemenid period the existence of free will and the power of each individual to shape his own destiny through the exercise of choice was a basic doctrine of the Zoroastrian religion: see Boyce 1979: 69 and 1982: 240. In Mesopotamian religious belief each person is allotted at birth an individual and definite share of fortune and misfortune, which determines the entire direction of his life and which must find realisation (see Oppenheim 1974: 202), but it is hardly likely that H. would have known this, and the Persian's 'beliefs' here are H.'s own.

ἀμήχανον 'impossible', but with the sense of 'there is nothing he can contrive (μηχανάομαι) for (it)': human effort and intelligence cannot outwit divine necessity.

ἀποτρέψαι: cf. 7.17.2, ἀποτρέπων τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι; and next n.

ἀνθρώπωι: cf. 3.65.3, ἐν τῆι ... ἀνθρωπηίηι φύσι οὐκ ἐνῆν ... τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι ἀποτρέπειν. Cf. also 3.43.1, ἐκκομίσαι τε ἀδύνατον εἴη ἀνθρώπωι ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι πρήγματος.

οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ ... πείθεσθαι οὐδείς 'for no one is willing to believe even those who speak reliably'; the remark is meant to emphasise the Persian's belief in the fulfilment that fate demands (thus the γάρ), since even what is true will not be believed in order that the gods' will may be accomplished. οὐδείς is emphatic by its position at the end, and the sentence is enclosed by negative words, which give an additional sense of impossibility.

16.5 Περσέων συχνοί 'very many of us Persians': his remark therefore is not privileged information to him alone, but is presented as common knowledge amongst the Persians; it thus serves (a) as an answer to Thersander's question above (Q: 'why don't you tell those in power?'; A: 'they already know' – indeed, Artabazus, at least, disapproved of Mardonius' plans (41, 66)); (b) to highlight the isolation of Mardonius and his distinctive passion (3.1 n.); and (c) as anticipation of the tragic dilemma between knowledge and power that is articulated in the next sentence.

ἐπιστάμενοι 'although we know'.

ἑπόμεθα: it is a distinctive mark of those who live under a king or tyrant that they simply 'follow', as opposed to those who are free and can openly debate and choose: see Intr. §6b.

ἀναγκαίηι ἐνδεδεμένοι: ἐνδέω has the sense of 'to tie up in', which lends itself to the metaphorical 'bind'; cf. 3.19.2 where it is used of oaths, and cf. *Il.* 2.111 (Agamemnon): Ζεύς με μέγα (v.l. μέγας) Κρονίδης ἄτηι ἐνέδησε βαρείηι. The expression here also occurs in the first story of the *Histories*, that of Candaules and Gyges, in which Gyges beseeches the queen 'not to bind him in necessity' (1.11.3, μή μιν ἀναγκαίηι ἐνδέειν). The necessity referred to here is that of following (see previous note) their King (or his proxy) as his subjects; they are thus, like all people, bound by the 'necessity' of following their own νόμοι: see further 41.4n. and Evans 1965.

ἐχθίστη 'most hateful': bitter and full of emotion; the word here has the force we find in, e.g., *Il.* 1.176 (Agamemnon to Achilles) ἔχθιστος δέ μοί ἐσσι διοτρεφέων βασιλήων; cf. 9.312, 9.378, *Od.* 14.156.

ὀδύνη: only here in H., who generally prefers ἀλγέω / ἄλγος: but again the echoes of epic language (cf. *Il.* 15.25, cf. *Od.* 1.398) are unmistakable, and the fact that the word has the meaning both of physical 'pain' and mental 'grief' lends a strong pathos to the Persian's words.

τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι 'for mortals', lit. 'of those among men'.

πολλά φρονέοντα μηδενός κρατέειν 'to understand many things and have power over none', but this English translation fails to capture the harsh and lapidary quality of the original with its stark four-word formulation.

μηδενὸς κρατέειν 'to have power over none'; in other words, to know the nature of the universe but to have no say in its operation. Although μηδενός could be masculine, πολλά suggests that it is neuter.

ἤκουον: on the impf. see 16.1 n.

αὐτίκα . . . πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι . . . τὴν μάχην: this sentence functions on two levels, as both H.'s and Thersander's assurance that the story was not invented after the fact.

πρὸς ἀνθρώπους 'publicly'.

17–18 The Phocians are put to the test

On the importance of this scene as a precursor to the major action of the book, see Intr. §6b.

17.1 συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας 'joined in the attack on Athens'.

ταύτηι: must refer to central Greece.

ἐμήδιζον γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὗτοι 'for indeed these too decidedly medised'; σφόδρα, only here in H. (not in Homer and once in Pindar), qualifies ἐμήδιζον (cf. 40, μηδίζοντες μεγάλως, of the Thebans). According to H., the Phocians and Thessalians were enemies because of a series of incidents both older and recent. During the Persian invasion, the Thessalians medised (1.1 n.), and the Phocians, simply because of their hatred of the Thessalians, did the opposite; had the Thessalians not taken the Persian side, H. says, the Phocians would have medised (8.29–30). When Xerxes came into central Greece, he tried to apprehend the Phocians, but many of them fled into the mountains, where they harassed the Persians and helped the Greeks (8.31–32; below, 31.5n.). The thousand mentioned here must be the ones whom he seized and forced into his service.

17.2 τὴν ἄπιξιν τὴν ἐς Θήβας: the arrival of the forces after the destruction of Athens (15).

ὕστερον: with ἡμέρηισι . . . οὐ πολλῆισι.

ἱππέας 'some horsemen'.

σφεας = αὐτούς (i.e., the Phocians).

ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν 'by themselves', i.e., 'separately' (Smyth §1689c for this sense of ἐπί).

ἵζεσθαι 'take up their position' (Powell III.2).

17.3 ἵππος ἡ ἅπασα 'the entire cavalry', as opposed to ἱππέας above.

διεξῆλθε . . . φημή: cf. 100–101 n.

τοῦ μετὰ Μήδων ἐόντος: i.e. the Greek troops who had medised (the qualification is necessary, since τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικόν would suggest the camp of the Greek allies).

κατακοντιεῖ: 'will shoot them down with javelins'; the future indicative conveys the vivid fearsomeness of the rumour. It is unclear whether that

rumour was true (*pace* Macan 799), since H. could not determine whether the Persians really meant to destroy the Phocians (cf. 18.2; 100.1). Although cavalry could not break a formation of heavy infantry by riding it down, it was possible to surround and shoot down (with javelins and arrows) even a very large body of men. The Persians, however, never succedeed in thus pinning down a Greek army. In *c.* 422 the Persian Arsaces shot down an unspecified number of exiled Delians, but he did so while they were preparing their morning meal, and so probably unarmed (Thuc. 8.108.4).

τὠυτό: for the form, Intr. §7.A.2.

17.4 The speech of Harmocydes

This is the only speech by a general to his troops in Book 9. The speech itself is interesting because it treats on a small scale the issues that are at stake in the great battle that is about to be fought (Intr. §6b). Although ancient historians filled their histories with pre-battle speeches, it is highly unlikely (*pace* Pritchett 1994) that any Greek general ever stood in a central position before an entire army of many thousands of men drawn up in battle formation, attempting to deliver a full speech, for he would have been intelligible to only a portion of them. It was, however, quite possible for a general to address a body of only 1,000 troops and expect to be heard by all of them simultaneously (so Hansen 1998; cf. Hornblower, *CT* II. 82–3). Harmocydes may well have delivered a speech which all of his 1,000 Phocians, who were in tight formation, would have been able to hear; but it by no means follows that H. has attempted to report his actual words.

17.4 ἔνθα δή: the δή here emphasises that the speech follows on the rumour throughout the camp: 'and it was at this very moment that'.

παραίνεε: impf.; see Intr. §7.F.1,4.

πρόδηλα 'plainly clear' rather than 'obvious beforehand' (Powell); the προ- has the sense of πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, 'before our eyes'; for the plural, cf. 1.91.1 (ἀδύνατα); Smyth §1026.

ἡμέας . . . προόπτωι θανάτωι δώσειν 'are on the point of giving us (over) to a foreseen death'.

διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν: for Thessalian/Phocian enmity, see 17.1n.

ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω 'as I conjecture'; Harmocydes cannot be certain of the causes for their imminent death, but the enmity of the Thessalians suggests itself readily to his mind. The narrator here is careful to maintain

believability in what his characters could know; and although the remark seems to add a note of pedantry to an otherwise dramatic speech, the practice of inserting such remarks is well attested elsewhere in H.: see 45.2, 7.49.2, 8.144.5; see also 32.2n.

ἄνδρα ... γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν 'to prove himself a brave man'; for this sense of γίγνομαι, 'turn out to be', see Powell III.2. In a military context ἀγαθός has the sense of 'brave': see Powell s.v. II.2 for additional examples, and cf. ἀριστεύω, 'be the bravest', below, 18.3; 71.1n.

ποιεῦντας τι καὶ ἀμυνομένους 'taking some action and defending ourselves', almost a hendiadys ('defending ourselves by action'), although there is also the sense of doing something worthy of remembrance in ποιεῦντας τι; cf. 22.2n.

τελευτῆσαι τὸν αἰῶνα: more solemn than simply τελευτᾶν; the phrase only twice elsewhere in H., 1.32.5 and 27.3 below.

παρέχοντας: sc. ἡμὰς αὐτούς: 'submitting' (LSJ s.v. παρέχω II.2).

διαφθαρῆναι αἰσχίστωι μόρωι: cf. 5.21.1, τούτωι τῶι μόρωι διεφθάρησαν. The phrase αἰσχίστωι μόρωι is poetic: cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1059 (Menelaus) θανόντες ἂν προὐκείμεθ' αἰσχίστωι μόρωι, where, as Jebb notes, their shame would have been that they died without a fight. Cf. also Aesch. *Pers.* 444, τεθνᾶσιν αἰσχρῶς δυσκλεεστάτωι μόρωι, used of the Persians who perished at Psyttaleia.

μαθέτω τις αὐτῶν 'let each one of them learn'; for τις used in this distributive sense see 45.3 and *AGPS* §51.16.10.

ἐόντες βάρβαροι ἐπ' Ἕλλησι: for the barbarian/Greek antithesis see Intr. §6b. The sentiment stated implicitly here, that barbarians are naturally inferior to Greeks, is made much more explicit in 4th-c. writers. See Xen. *Anab.* 3.1.23, Isoc. *Paneg.* 150ff., *Phil.* 124; Arist., *Pol.* 1252b5–9, 1255a, 1260a12, 1285a20–24.

φόνον ἔρραψαν 'they contrived death'; ῥάπτω is properly 'to stitch'; for the phrase cf. *Od.* 16.379, φόνον αἰπὺν ἐράπτομεν.

18.1 **ὡς ἀπολέοντες** 'as if to destroy (them)'; for ὡς + future participle = 'as if' see Smyth §2086b; *AGPS* §56.12.2. Given that H. is unsure whether or not the Persians really did intend to destroy the Phocians (18.2), the 'as if' must not be seen to suggest either intention or lack of intention. On the form ἀπολέοντες, see Intr. §7.F.6.

καὶ δὴ διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα 'and they were even poising their javelins'; on the sense of καὶ δή here, *GP* 248. Although the Persian cavalry fought with both bow and javelin (which they discharged with deadly effect), κατακοντιεῖ (17.3) makes it clear that javelins are here meant.

καί κού τις καὶ ἀπῆκε 'and perhaps one of them actually did release (a javelin)'; the first καί is connective, the second adverbial. For the form of the verb, Intr. §7.A.1.

πάντηι συστρέψαντες . . . μάλιστα 'on every side drawing themselves together and making their ranks as deep as possible'.

18.2 οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν: on narrator interventions see Intr. §§2, 4. This particular phrase is common in H.; it is used (a) as a prelude to what H. *can* say ('I don't know x but I do know y': cf. 8.87.1, or 'I can't say anything except what is reported': 2.130.2, 7.152.1, and below, 84.1 n.); (b) to explain an absence of information ('I can't say because no one says': 7.60.1); (c) to express uncertainty about details (4.187.3); or, as here, uncertainty about motives; the last is quite common. It is unclear whether these are H.'s own conjectures or whether he is unable to choose between two rival explanations which he had heard. Possibly, as H.'s second alternative suggests, Mardonius wanted to see how Greek troops would react to a cavalry attack (so Lazenby 220).

οὔτε εἰ . . . οὔτ' εἰ: the negatives reinforce the intial οὐκ . . . εἰπεῖν; translate 'whether . . . or'; elision is limited in H. and not always consistent in the MSS: see Intr. §7.A.2.

δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν: as Harmocydes himself had conjectured (17.4).

πρὸς ἀλέξησιν τραπομένους 'turning to resistance', referring to the Phocians, of course; for the phrase, cf. πρὸς ἀλκὴν τραπέσθαι, 102.3 with n.

μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρῶμα 'that *they* would be defeated'; for τρῶμα as 'military defeat', (Powell, s.v. 2), cf. below, 90.1, 100.2. Although 'they' refers to the cavalry, the following parenthesis indicates that Mardonius was also concerned and therefore gave precautionary orders.

ὥς = οὕτως.

πειρηθῆναι: the verb can mean both 'test' and 'get experience of', as we can in English convey a double sense with 'to try something' (see Powell s.v. 2.a). Here the sense is to try someone out, just as in Homer πειράω often has the sense of putting someone to the test in regard to knowledge or character or ability: *Il.* 10.444, *Od.* 16.305, 19.215. Mardonius' testing finds a parallel in Pausanias' testing of the Greeks below, 21.3 with n.

εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι 'if they partook of fighting spirit to any extent'. ἀλκή, used here in its Homeric sense (related to ἀλέξω), refers to defence and (by extension) to the spirit with which one defends oneself; cf. 70.4, 102.3. τι is an adverbial accusative (Smyth §1609).

18.3 ἐφάνητε ἐόντες 'you showed yourselves to be' and therefore 'you (actually) are'; for the notion of manifestness in φαίνω + participle see Smyth §2143.

ἀγαθοί: see 17.4n.

οὐκ ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην: this suggests that the Thessalians had indeed slandered the Phocians; H. cannot decide, however, whether Mardonius' motives were to test or destroy them. Kings (and, by extension here, those whom they put in command) display the same sort of interest in and attitude towards inquiry and examination as the historical narrator himself: on this and on the progression 'report – test – knowledge', see Christ 1994.

καὶ νῦν 'so now', 'this being the case'.

εὐεργεσίῃσι: Mardonius is invoking the custom whereby those who benefit the King (the εὐεργέται) are in turn given benefits by him. H. notes that such men are called in Persian ὀροσάγγαι and their names are inscribed by the King (8.85.3); on the institution see further Briant 1996: 315–16.

οὐ νικήσετε 'you will not outdo'.

οὔτ' ὦν: this conjunction of particles is common to the poets and tragedians but rare in prose (*GP* 416, 419–20). The force of ὦν here is emphatic: 'neither – I assure you – me nor the King'. The tone implies an intimacy between Mardonius and the King which recurs at 58.3, appropriate since he is Xerxes' stand-in for Book 9 (Intr. §3).

βασιλέα: for omission of the article, 7α.1n.

19 Journey and arrival of the Greek army

For the possible version of this journey by Simonides, see App. A, F 11.29–41.

19.1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι: the narrative of Spartan movements is resumed from 11.3.

τοῖσι = οἷσι: Int. §7.E.3.

τὰ ἀμείνω: subject of ἑάνδανε. For the two other uses of the phrase, cf. 7.145.1 (Ἑλλήνων ... τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεόντων) and 7.172.1 (where τῶν πολίων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεουσέων is contrasted with the machinations of the Thessalian medisers).

οἱ δὲ καὶ ὁρῶντες 'and some when they actually saw ...'; this group is a subset of οἱ λοιποί.

λείπεσθαι 'to be left behind', but also with the sense of 'to come short of, be inferior to' (LSJ, B.II.2–3).

19.2 δὴ ὦν: a favourite combination of particles in H. and Plato but rare in other writers; ὦν here has a connective, δή an emphatic function, the latter marking the decisive movement away from the Isthmus.

καλλιερησάντων τῶν ἱρῶν 'when the sacrifices gave favourable omens': the verb καλλιερέω elsewhere in H. and other 5th-c. writers always has the meaning 'to obtain favourable omens' (< καλὰ τὰ ἱερά, 'the omens are favourable'; more on the derivation at Chantraine, s.v. καλός, 2; for the meaning of ἱερά, 33.1 n.). Here, however, the Spartans cannot be the subject; the sense must therefore be 'giving favourable omens' and τῶν ἱρῶν is therefore necessary; cf. next n. but one. Border-crossing sacrifices (διαβατήρια) seem to have been unique to the Spartans (Xen. *Lac.* 13.2–5) and there were several occasions when unpropitious results actually turned an army back (Hdt. 6.76.2; cf. Thuc. 5.54.1, 55.3, 116.1; Jameson 1991: 198–203; Pritchett, *GSAW* III.67–70; Parker 1988: 156–7). For the possible reference to these sacrifices by Simonides see App. A, F 11.42.

ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα: if the Greek forces swore anything even remotely resembling the 'Oath of Plataea' recorded in 4th-c. sources (see App. C), they most probably did so at Eleusis, since that is where the Athenians joined them. Diod. 11.29.2 places the oath at the Isthmus, where H. has the other Peloponnesians (but not the Athenians) join the Spartans.

ἐκαλλιέρεε: the subject is ἱρά (cf. previous note but one).

τὸ πρόσω: for the article with adverbs, see *AGPS* §50.5.10; the meaning is unaffected by τό.

διαβάντες . . . ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος: where they had been stationed while Mardonius attacked Athens (3.2).

19.3 ἄρα: expressing the lively feeling both of the Greeks as they now learn the whereabouts of the Persians, and of the narrator as he approaches the actual engagement.

φρασθέντες δὲ τοῦτο 'on taking note of this'; the verb here has the sense of 'consider' (Powell, s.v., 4c) rather than 'observing' (Powell, s.v., 4a).

τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος: the mountains of Cithaeron separate Attica from Boeotia; they were famous for being, among other things, the place where the infant Oedipus was exposed; the article is used here because of the fame of the mountain (*AGPS* §50.7.2).

20–24 Persian and Greek engagement, and the death of Masistius

This episode is often considered tainted by Athenian propaganda (Burn 517; Green 246), but it is not straightforwardly so. Although the Athenians

volunteer and perform great deeds, they nevertheless need their allies for ultimate success, and the victory is presented as a co-operative effort.

20 οὐ κατέβαινον 'refused to come down'. H. does not explain why the Greeks did not deploy immediately into the plain nor how long Mardonius waited before attacking them with his cavalry. It is clear, however, from 25.2 that their reason for staying close to the foothills was fear of the Persian cavalry. Rather than mentioning their fear here H. prefers to emphasise later that their repulse of the cavalry gave them confidence; for narrative delay as a feature of Herodotean narrative see Intr. §2.

ἐς αὐτούς 'against them'. Since H. says that Mardonius attacked because the Greeks were not descending into the plain, the most likely explanation for the attack was his impatience at the deadlock. It is tempting to believe (with Lazenby 221–2) that Mardonius hoped that the cavalry would so harass the Greeks that they would retreat in fright and so give him a victory by default.

Μασίστιος εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Πέρσῃσι: he was second in renown only to Mardonius (cf. 24 with n.).

τὸν Ἕλληνες Μακίστιον καλέουσι: H. often informs his readers that he is giving a native or more accurate name (e.g. 1.7.2, 72.1, 4.110.1) and this kind of improvement in small details becomes characteristic of the later historiographical tradition (Marincola 1997: 95–117). What Greeks referred to Masistius this way is unclear (although Simonides is a good possibility), but the ultimate source would be those Greek hoplites who actually viewed Masistius' corpse. It is possible that the Greek name for him was somehow assimilated to the Greek hero Μηκιστεύς, one of the Seven against Thebes (mentioned by H. at 5.67.3); but since at 25.1 H. refers to the size (μεγάθος) and beauty of Masistius' corpse, it is quite possible that knowing their *Iliad* well, the Greeks purposefully called him by a name which meant 'tallest' (μάκιστος in Doric): Boedeker 2001 a: 122 aptly cites *Il.* 7.155, where Nestor says of his single combat with the Arcadian champion Ereuthalion: τὸν δὴ μήκιστον καὶ κάρτιστον κτάνον ἄνδρα.

Νησαῖον: horses from the Nisaean plain in Media were renowned for their size; cf. 7.40, and below, 81.2n.

καὶ ἄλλως 'and in (all) other respects too'.

προσήλασαν . . . προσέβαλλον: these are different manoeuvres: the cavalry first advance together and then, having got close enough to the Greeks, begin a series of attacks. There are two possibilities: (a) squadron after squadron charged within missile-range, fired its arrows or hurled its javelins, and then wheeled away. Since the Persian cavalry were not

equipped to charge the enemy and break their formation, their purpose was 'to whittle away enemy resistance and morale by repeated attacks, until they broke and fled' (Lazenby 222–3). Or (b) the cavalry attacked from left to right in a clock-wise rotating motion across the enemy's front, which would allow right-handed archers and javelineers to avoid firing over the bobbing heads of their horses by discharging their missiles sideways across their bodies (so Shrimpton 1980: 32–4). The former scenario seems slightly more probable, but either one can be comprehended by H.'s description (22.3 with n.).

προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα 'they were attacking by squadrons', i.e., 'one squadron after another'; see previous note.

κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο 'they were doing them great harm'; throughout the narrative of the Plataea campaign the Persian cavalry is represented as being extremely effective against the Greeks (although H. does not give casualty figures apart from those incurred on the final day).

γυναῖκάς σφεας ἀπεκάλεον 'they kept reviling them as women'; for ἀποκαλέω in the negative sense of 'reproach' see Pl. *Gorg.* 512c, Soph. *Aj.* 727. H. says that to be called 'worse than a woman' is the greatest insult for a Persian (cf. below, 107.1, and Xerxes' words at Salamis, 'my men have become women and my women men', 8.88.3), yet the reproach is common to many cultures, including the Greeks. Already in Homer Menelaus chastises the assembled Greeks as Ἀχαιΐδες, οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί (*Il.* 7.96); cf. Hector's reproach of Diomedes γυναικὸς ἄρ' ἀντὶ τέτυξο (8.163). This reproach is implicit in the portrayal of the Persians in Aesch.'s *Persians*, where the chorus and Xerxes are dressed in πέπλοι and portrayed as wailing aloud, both of which the Greeks normally associated with women: see 465–71 and 1002–77 with E. Hall 1996 ad loc.

21.1 κατὰ συντυχίην . . . ἔτυχον: unlike some later historians (notably Polybius) H. does not seem to have assigned a large role to τύχη, nor is this surprising, given his attitude towards the divine (Intr. §6c). For the phrase, 91.1 with n.

ἧι 'where'.

ἐπιμαχώτατον 'most vulnerable to assault'; the adj. elsewhere in H. is applied to walls (1.84.3, 6.133.3).

καὶ ἡ πρόσοδος . . . ἵππωι 'and where the cavalry assaults especially occurred'.

21.2 δέκεσθαι 'receive', i.e., 'stand up to (their attack)'.

ἐς τὴν ἕστημεν 'which we took up', lit. 'into which we stood': although ἕστημεν is intransitive, the sense is almost middle, 'arranged ourselves'.

ἀρχήν: adv. 'at first', i.e., 'when we began'.

καὶ ἐς τόδε: the καί calls attention to the Megarians' efforts: even outnumbered, they have nevertheless up to the present managed to hold out; for a similar use, cf. 76.2. ἐς τόδε = 'up to this time'; cf. Powell s.v. ἐς, B.1.b for other examples, and below at 73.3, 76.2.

λιπαρίηι τε καὶ ἀρετῆι 'by perseverance and valour'. λιπαρίη is exceedingly rare, found only here and at 70.2 (where both words again appear); more common is the verb λιπαρέω: see, e.g., 45.2. ἀρετή is often used for 'that combination of bravery and skill which we look for in a fighter' (Dover 1974: 164); cf. below, 71.1.

ἀντέχομεν: the present tense emphasises their continued efforts.

διαδόχους τῆς τάξιος 'who will take their turn at our station'.

ἐκλείψοντας τὴν τάξιν: at Athens a public indictment (a γραφὴ λιποταξίου) could be brought against someone who abandoned his post and the penalty upon conviction was loss of citizen rights (see Todd 1993: 183). The Megarians are thus threatening to do something especially shameful, a characterisation generally in keeping with their portrayal by H.: see 70.1n.

21.3 **ἀπεπειρᾶτο**: on the notion of 'testing' or 'trying out' see 18.2n.

ἐθέλοιεν . . . ἐθελονταί 'be willing . . . as volunteers' (the noun is predicative). The phrase is somewhat pleonastic.

Ἀθηναῖοι . . . καὶ Ἀθηναίων: the article is sometimes omitted with the names of peoples: see *AGPS* §50.2.13.

ὑπεδέξαντο: 'undertook it' (sc. to take the place of the Megarians).

οἱ τριηκόσιοι λογάδες: the number 300 recurs often in H.: see 1.82.3, 5.72.1, 7.202 (the 300 at Thermopylae), and below, 64.2 and 67 with nn. The use of three hundred picked men occurs again at Thuc. 6.100.1, but we have no other evidence for such an infantry unit in the Athenian army, and this is more likely a typical number in H.: cf. Fehling 1989: 221–2. Diod. (11.30.1–4), who puts the battle at night, implies that the picked Athenians were Aristides' personal bodyguard. Plut. (*Arist.* 14.5), who follows H. fairly closely here, explicitly says that the Athenians attacked 'at a run' (δρόμωι). Contrary to Paus. ('I know that Masistius was killed by Athenian cavalry', 1.27.1), who is followed by Pritchett, *GSAW* II.224; 1985: 121 n. 60, these troops were not cavalrymen: see Bugh 1988: 11 n. 41. Nor would the Persian cavalry attack another cavalry unit by squadrons.

ἐλοχήγεε 'was in command'; although sometimes used in other contexts (cf. Xen. *An.* 6.1.30, *Mem.* 3.1.5; Is. 9.14), this is a Spartan technical term. Strictly speaking, a *lochagos* was the commander of a *lochos*, which was a

regiment of the Spartan army: cf. 53n. Yet Aeschylus uses the term to refer to the commanders *of Hellas* (Ἑλλάδος λοχαγέταις, *TrGF* 451 k, (a)4), thus showing that the term had already been extended to non-Spartans and was familiar at Athens.

Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπωνος: it has been suggested that H. acquired the details of this cavalry skirmish from the family of Olympiodorus (e.g. HW 295; Lazenby 222). This is based on the assumption that the seer Lampon, who may have been the son of this Olympiodorus, must have been known to H. because Lampon was one of the founders of Thurii (Diod. 12.10.3) and H. was one of the colonists (Intr. §1). Yet this is merely an attempt to explain the 'eye-witness' quality of the narrative in terms of access to privileged information; for cautions against equating vividness with access to sources, see Intr. §4.

22.1 πρὸ τῶν . . . Ἑλλήνων: πρό has two-fold meaning here: the Athenians are literally stationed 'before', i.e., in front of, all the other Greeks, and they are stationed 'on behalf of' all the others. They are, in short, πρόμαχοι in the Homeric sense, and here display that daring that is characteristic of them (Intr. §3); their later tradition emphasised this aspect greatly: see Loraux 1986: 155–71.

τοὺς τοξότας: only the Athenians seemed to have had a corps of archers at Plataea (cf. 60.3), and perhaps that is why they are chosen for this service.

ἐπὶ χρόνον 'for a time'; cf. 62.2n. on battle lengths.

προέχων: again with double meaning: Masistius' horse was in front of all the rest but also conspicuous among the rest.

βάλλεται . . . ἵσταταί . . . ἀποσείεται: the present tenses and the paratactical structure, suggestive of rapid movement, make the narrative both vivid and animated.

τὰ πλευρά 'in the side' (acc. of respect).

ἀλγήσας 'in pain'.

ἵσταταί . . . ὀρθός 'he rears upright'.

22.2 ἀμυνόμενον 'as he was defending himself'; the detail is not unimportant, since it is the essence of heroism never to give up the fight: cf. Harmocydes' words (17.4), and the constant emphasis in Greek literature on the need to die with wounds 'in front' (for the hoplite ethic see Müller 1989).

κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι 'although at first they could not'.

ἐντός 'underneath', used adverbially.

θώρηκα . . . χρύσεον λεπιδωτόν 'a breastplate with golden scales'. The scales were probably gold-plated iron. Gold or gilt armour was a rarity, even among the Persians: of the hundreds of iron scales found at Persepolis, only three are gold-plated (M. C. Miller 1997: 48). Paus. 1.27.1 says that the breastplate of Masistius and the sword of Mardonius were deposited in the temple of Athena Polias; for more on the latter, see 84.1 n.

πρίν γε δή: the particles emphasise the sole means of success (γε) and call attention to the successful moment (δή).

μαθών . . . τὸ ποιεύμενον 'realising what was happening'; the verb suggests understanding based on observation.

22.3 κως: qualifies the verb.

ἀναχωρήσιός τε γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς 'and in as much as a reverse movement and a wheeling about [of the cavalry] were occurring'; not only had no one seen what had happened, but the fact that they were withdrawing, rather than giving way, would also make it less easy to notice that their commander was missing; only when they draw themselves up (next n.) do they realise this.

ἔστησαν: either intrans. 2nd aor. ('they stopped') or trans. 1st aor. ('they drew up [sc. their horses]'); the context can bear either reading.

ἐπόθεσαν 'they missed him': the following clause gives the reason at that moment; but the verb, with its strong emotional overtones ('long for') also presages the grief that attends the news of his death (24); cf. *Il.* 2.703, where the Phylacian contingent longed for (πόθεον) their absent leader Protesilaus.

ὡς 'in as much as'.

διακελευσάμενοι 'giving the order to each other', since there was no commander; cf. the analogous situation of the Athenian women, 5.3n.

πάντες 'all together', whereas before they had attacked in relays (κατὰ τέλεα).

ὡς ἂν . . . ἀνελοίατο: ὡς/ὅκως ἄν are common in Hom. and H. for purpose clauses; in Attic prose they are rare, except in Xen.; the addition of ἄν does not affect the sense (*MT* §329).

τόν γε νεκρόν: 'his corpse, if nothing else'; with victory no longer possible, they must at least escape dishonour. The fight over a corpse is a feature of Homeric epic, and the greater the hero, the greater the struggle (cf. the fight over Sarpedon, *Il.* 16.485–683, and Patroclus, 17.1–18.238). H. employed this motif earlier in the struggle over Leonidas' corpse at Thermopylae (7.225, with Flower 1998: 375–7). In that episode the remnants

of the 300 Spartiates (7.205.2) successfully retrieved the body of their king Leonidas, but then perished to a man. Here 300 Athenians manage to slay the enemy commander, but fail to hold on to the body without the support of the entire army (on the number see 21.3n.).

23.1 ἐν ὧι . . . ἐν τούτωι 'while . . . during this time': explained in the next sentence.

ἐπεβοήθεε 'was coming to their assistance'.

μάχη ὀξέα . . . γίνεται: 'a sharp encounter develops'; in Hom. ὀξύς is an epithet of Ares, both the god and his metaphorical extension to 'battle': cf. *Il.* 2.440: ὄφρα κε θᾶσσον ἐγείρομεν ὀξὺν Ἄρηα. On the form ὀξέα see Intr. §7.C.3.

23.2 ὑπέμενον 'were standing their ground'.

πρὸς ἐκείνωι: i.e. Masistius.

ὅσον τε: with numerals means 'about, approximately'.

ἀναρχίης ἐούσης 'since they had no commander'. The action here prefigures Persian behaviour during the actual battle when Mardonius is killed and the Persian resistance ends (63.1–2). Unlike the Spartans at Thermopylae, who carry on after the death of Leonidas (7.225.3), the Persians are beholden to their commander and perform their best only while he is alive. This is one of the distinguishing marks between Greek and barbarian: see Intr. §6b.

24 πένθος ἐποιήσαντο . . . μέγιστον: for πένθος ποιεῖσθαι see 2.1.1 (Cyrus' mourning for Cassandane), the only other place where the phrase occurs. Their grief would have been increased by their failure to recover the body.

μέγιστον: emphatic by position; despite its proximity, it is not limited to Mardonius (for which sense we would want μάλιστα).

αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια: H. says that all nations except the Egyptians cut their hair in times of grief (2.36); cf. the Milesians at 6.21.1, and of course the actions of the Achaeans and Achilles at the death of Patroclus (*Il.* 23.135–7, 140–2) and of Alexander at the death of Hephaestion (Arr. *Anab.* 7.14.4). The grief of the Persians is extraordinary, however, as shown by the cutting also of the manes of their horses: for other examples of this, see Eur. *Alc.* 425–9; Plut. *Pel.* 33–4 and *Alex.* 72.

οἰμωγῆι . . . ἀπλέτωι: the same phrase at 6.58.3 (Spartan grief for a dead king) and 8.99.2 (the Persian response to the defeat at Salamis); and see next n.

ἅπασαν . . . ἠχώ: literally, 'an echo [i.e., of grief] covered the whole of Boeotia', i.e., 'all of Boeotia echoed' with the sound of lamentation. For the phrasing, cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 426–7: οἰμωγὴ δ' ὁμοῦ | κωκύμασιν κατεῖχε πελαγίαν ἅλα.

ἀνδρὸς . . . μετά γε Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτου: although H. mentioned his renown earlier (20), he reserves the information that he was second in renown only to Mardonius for here, where it most explains the extent of the Persian grief. For narrative delay in H., Intr. §2.

25 *Advance of the Greeks to their second position*

25.1 πρῶτα μέν: answered by μετὰ δέ in §2. The two decisions are portrayed as made in light of the successful action against the Persians; the first is psychological (the viewing of Masistius' corpse), the second tactical.

θέης ἄξιος: this expression, less common than ἀξιοθέητος, is used only four times (also 70.3, 109.1; 1.25.2). Both expressions often have the sense of 'worth going to see', although the words by themselves do not imply the narrator's autopsy.

μεγάθεος εἵνεκα καὶ κάλλεος: it is part of the Homeric cast of H.'s narrative that the commanders are prepossessing both in size and beauty: cf. 7.187.2, κάλλεος . . . εἵνεκα καὶ μεγάθεος, used of Xerxes; cf. below, 96.2 (of Tigranes).

ἐφοίτων θεησόμενοι: the Achaeans similarly went to marvel at the corpse of Hector (*Il.* 22.369–75), with the difference that, unlike those earlier heroes, the Greeks do not mutilate the corpse, just as after the battle Pausanias will refuse to dishonour Mardonius: cf. 79nn.

25.2 ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς 'to go forward and down [i.e., from the foothills of Cithaeron (19.3), cf. §3 below] into the territory of Plataea'. For the chronology of events from the Greek arrival at Plataea, see Fig. 2.

ὁ Πλαταιικὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου: ὁ Πλαταιικός looks back to χῶρος; with τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου understand χώρου.

τά τε ἄλλα καὶ εὐυδρότερος 'both in respect to other things and especially because it was better watered'; cf. 49.2–3, where the water supply is crucial.

διαταχθέντας 'arranged by nationalities'; cf. ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἔθνεα below.

25.3 ἐτάσσοντο: on the form cf. Intr. §7.B.2.

There are an unspecified number of days while the Greeks take up their first position under the foothills of Cithaeron near Erythrae.	
Day 1:	Second position of the Greek army on the Asopus; debate between Athenians and Tegeans.
Day 2:	Greeks and Persians conduct sacrifices.
Days 3-7:	Neither side begins battle. Greek contingents continue to arrive.
Day 8:	Night time raid of the Persian cavalry on the Greek supply train.
Days 9-10:	Persian cavalry harasses the Greek army.
Day 11:	Meeting of Mardonius with his generals. Mardonius runs out of patience and decides to attack on the next day. Night-time mission of Alexander of Macedon.
Day 12:	Spartans and Athenians attempt to change wings. Mardonius challenges the Spartans to single combat with the Persians. Severe harassment by the Persian cavalry who choke the Gargaphian spring. Greeks decide to shift position during the night. Flight of the Greek centre. Insubordination of Amompharetus.
Day 13:	Third position of the Greek army. Battle of Plataea.
	Greek army remains encamped at Plataea for ten days after battle. Greek army then besieges Thebes for twenty days. Theban medisers are handed over on the 20th day of the siege.

Fig. 2 Diary of the Plataea campaign

τῆς τε κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος: the location of both landmarks is uncertain. Gargaphia is probably the spring now called Retsi; the *temenos* of Androcrates is also mentioned by Thuc. 3.24.1–2 and Plut. *Arist.* 11.3; 8, but nothing is known of the hero himself. Neither place seems to have been very near to the Asopus river. The Spartans, on the Greek right, probably occupied the high ground now known as the Asopus ridge; the Athenians, on the left, were stationed on Pyrgos hill; the centre contingents occupied the low

ground between these more elevated positions; and the whole army may have stretched back to the spring Gargaphia on the right and to the *temenos* of Androcrates on the left (unless H. has merely mentioned them as being the nearest landmarks to the river): so Lazenby 223–7; cf. Burn 519–22; Hignett 301–11.

διὰ . . . χώρου: the various contingents were distributed over (διά) this area which consisted of a level plain (ἀπέδου χώρου) and low hills (ὄχθων . . . οὐκ ὑψηλῶν).

26–28.1 Dispute between the Tegeans and Athenians over the command of the left wing

With the troops now present for the battle, H. presents a 'big tussle of words' (λόγων πολλὸς ὠθισμός, 26.1) between the Tegeans and the Athenians over who will hold the left wing (the Spartans by common consent having the right). The argument is presented as a formalised debate, in which each party brings forward their glorious deeds from the distant and recent past. Although the speeches are roughly similar in length, the arrangement of deeds within each is very different. Most of the Tegean speech is a narrative of the actions surrounding a single achievement, the victory of their king, Echemus, over Hyllus, as the latter was attempting to lead back the Heracleidae to the Peloponnese. In a response of matching length the Athenians mention six outstanding deeds from their past, culminating in their 'single combat' with the Persians at Marathon. These speeches are about the τιμή due to the Tegeans and the Athenians. There is no reason to doubt that this debate took place, and the kinds of arguments it presents – present honour dependent on past excellence – were common in antiquity. (The Athenians, it is true, undercut that position by arguing that past performance is no guarantee of future action, but they do so only after they themselves have listed their deeds, and have presented their actions as being consistent over the centuries.) Finally, the debate reminds us of the fractiousness of the Greeks (cf. 1 n.) and the struggle over leadership that was a constant of the war (cf. 8.2.2–3.1): in this regard, it can hardly be coincidental that the Tegean actions centre on the Peloponnese, while the Athenians' deeds have a certain panhellenic quality. For more on the individual speeches themselves see 26.2–7n., 27.1–6n.

26.1 λόγων πολλὸς ὠθισμός: cf. 8.78, ὠθισμὸς λόγων πολλός, used of the wrangling of the generals before Salamis. This metaphorical ὠθισμός

('pushing') presages the actual combat, where the battle ends with just such an action (62.2n.).

τὸ ἕτερον κέρας: lit., 'the other wing', here indicating the left wing since the Spartans were assigned the right.

καὶ καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα 'bringing forward deeds both recent and from long ago'; παραφέρω is lit. 'bring to one's side', but at 4.65.2 it means to bring forward so as to display. In the orators it can be used for 'citing' laws (Antiph. 3.4.8) or 'producing' witnesses (Lys. F 350). The incorporation of what might be considered myth into these speeches is not window dressing, since similar arguments were often used by the Greeks in political contexts, and they performed the important function of helping to settle disputes by non-violent means: see Markle 1976; Jones 1999, esp. 6–35.

τοῦτο μέν 'first', although there is no corresponding τοῦτο δέ.

26.2–7 The speech of the Tegeans

The Tegeans defend their right to hold the left wing by introducing their distinguished deeds from the past. Although they mention unspecified 'many successful contests' (26.7) against the Lacedaemonians and others, they focus on their king's victory over Hyllus, the leader of the Heracleidae. The mention of Echemus' defeat of Hyllus has been seen as amazingly tactless and ill designed to win Spartan sympathy (e.g., Macan 644–5). Yet the purpose of the Tegeans is not to win the *sympathy* of the Spartans, but rather their *respect*: for that purpose, they demonstrate their ἀρετή, the fact that they *deserve* to hold the rank that they do. Therefore, they point out that they have often been equal or superior to the Spartans. That the Spartans understood this and were neither looking for Tegean flattery nor alienated by the Tegean speech is confirmed by the fact that the Spartans place the Tegeans directly next to themselves in the battle line 'on account of their honour and bravery' (28.3). The Tegeans fail to persuade the Spartans not because they do not flatter them, but because the Athenians have something more valuable to offer: actual experience of the present enemy (see 27.1–6n.). The contemporary perspective (Intr. §1) adds another possible reading: although Tegea was allied with Sparta in the Peloponnesian War, the speeches may reflect a contemporary sentiment that the Spartans had better reason to be friends with the Athenians, who had preserved the ancestors of their kings, than with the Tegeans, who had done their utmost to prevent those same

ancestors from returning home (see 27.1–6n.). Such reflections would have been especially poignant during the Peloponnesian War.

26.2 αἰεί κοτε 'always on any given occasion'; for κοτε = ποτε see Intr. §7.B.1.

συμμάχων ἁπάντων: of the Spartans, naturally.

ὅσαι . . . νέον: this clause expands upon and explains αἰεί. In translation some word such as 'in' must be supplied: 'in all the joint campaigns that . . . '.

Ἡρακλεῖδαι: the descendants of Heracles. According to the standard version of the legend (see esp. Diod. 4.57–8, Apollodorus 2.8.1–3 (167–76)), upon Heracles' death his sons were expelled from Argos by the usurper Eurystheus, who had subjected Heracles to his twelve labours. Hyllus, Heracles' eldest son, attempted to force a return with the assistance of the Dorians, but thanks to the successful action of the Tegeans on this occasion, it was not until three generations later that the twins Eurysthenes and Procles led the Dorians into the Peloponnese and established the dual monarchy at Sparta. Thus the two royal houses at Sparta were believed to be directly descended from these two great-great-great grandsons of Heracles. H. gives a variant version which he claims is Lacedaemonian, whereby Aristodemus, the father of Eurystheus and Procles, led the Heracleidae into the Peloponnese (6.52). Whether there is a kernel of historical truth to the legend of the Dorian invasion is much contested by modern scholars: see J. Hall 1997: 4–16, 56–65, 114–28 for a comprehensive recent discussion.

ἐπειρῶντο . . . κατιόντες 'were attempting to return from exile', the standard classical sense of κατιέναι (see Ar. *Frogs* 1165 with van Leeuwen ad loc.); πειράομαι is commonly accompanied by a supplementary participle in H. (Powell s.v. 1.b), but rarely in Attic (Smyth §2102).

26.3 τότε εὑρόμεθα τοῦτο 'it was on that occasion that we obtained this (privilege)'; for εὑρίσκω in the middle meaning 'obtain' cf. 28.3, and Powell s.v., v.

Ἰώνων τῶν τότε ἐόντων ἐν Πελοποννήσωι 'of the Ionians who dwelt in the Peloponnese at the time': for Ionians in the Peloponnese see 1.145 with Asheri 1988 ad loc.

τοῖσι κατιοῦσι: the Heracleidae.

λόγος 'the story is' (understand ἐστί), introducing indirect discourse, with subject acc. (Ὕλλον) and infinitive (ἀγορεύσασθαι); the later infinitives ἀνακινδυνεύειν and μουνομαχῆσαι are dependent on χρεὸν εἴη.

ἀγορεύσασθαι: 'to have [something] proclaimed'.

τὸν μὲν στρατὸν . . . συμβάλλοντα 'that one army should not run an unnecessary risk (by) engaging with the other army'; the article here is generic (Smyth §1122–3). On the expression μή . . . ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα cf. 41.3.

τὸν ἂν . . . κρίνωσι . . . τοῦτόν: τόν introduces a relative clause; τοῦτον refers back to τόν ('the one whom they judge . . . this one').

σφέων αὐτῶν: partitive genitive with ἄριστον.

οἱ: Hyllus.

μουνομαχῆσαι: see 27.5n.; on the form, Intr. 7.C.2.

ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι: sc. λόγοις, 'on conditions to be established'; for ἐπί + dative in this sense, see Smyth §1689c, and below (26.4) ἐπὶ λόγωι τοιῶιδε.

26.4 ἔδοξε: since Hyllus had made a proposal, it was necessary for the Peloponnesians to make a decision about it.

ἔταμον ὅρκιον: lit. 'cut an oath victim', the phrase comes to mean 'make a sworn agreement', because one traditionally sacrificed a victim when making an oath. The plural ὅρκια is more common but cf. 4.70 τὸ ὅρκιον ταμνομένων. On the form of ἔταμον see Intr. §7.C.4.

τὰ ἔμπαλιν Ἡρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι 'the opposite (would occur, namely) that the Heracleidae would depart', etc. The adverb ἔμπαλιν ('backwards, back') often appears with the article in the singular or (always in H.) plural. The sense is 'contrariwise', '(the) opposite', or even 'vice versa'. τὰ ἔμπαλιν is here proleptic, anticipating the clause that follows.

ἑκατὸν . . . ἐτέων: the genitive here marks out a portion of time within which something may or may not occur (Smyth §1444, cf. 1447). The 'hundred years' corresponds to three generations, the period the Heracleidae would have to wait before returning (successfully) to the Peloponnese. In inquiring of the oracle at Delphi, the Heracleidae were told they could return at the third harvest (Apollod. 2.8.171); Hyllus wrongly supposed this meant the third year, but his descendant Temenus inquired a hundred years later and interpreted 'harvest' as generation.

26.5 ἐθελοντής: the position emphasises that Echemus had willingly come forward rather than simply having his name selected by lot or by virtue of his command.

Ἔχεμος ὁ Ἠερόπου τοῦ Φηγέος: in some versions he is grandson of Cepheus rather than Phegeus. He is mentioned by Pind. (*Ol.* 10.67) as 'the one who gained glory for Tegea in the wrestling' during the first Olympiad established by Heracles. A relief fragment portraying him as a warrior was found at Tegea: see Daux 1968: 811 fig. 5; cf. *LIMC* III.1, 675–6, and for the later tradition, *RE* V.2, 1913–14. See also next note.

ἐμουνομάχησέ τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Ὕλλον: Paus. 8.53.10 claims to have seen in Tegea 'the tomb of Echemus, and the fight between Echemus and Hyllus carved on a stele'. On the single combat theme, cf. 27.5n.

ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὑρόμεθα: ring composition with 26.3 above, τότε εὑρόμεθα τοῦτο.

τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες 'which we (have always held and) continue to hold'; it is not known what these 'other great honours' are, and H. may not have had anything specific in mind, since the main point is simply to emphasise that they always have the left wing on joint Peloponnesian expeditions.

26.6 ὑμῖν . . . οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ . . . παρίεμεν '*you* we do not oppose, but we yield (to you)': the placement of ὑμῖν is emphatic, implying that although the Tegeans will indulge the Spartans in what they wish, they *would* oppose anyone else. Cf. the Athenians addressing Gelon of Sicily (7.161), where they say they will allow no one but the Spartans to be naval commander before themselves. The Tegeans' use of ἀντιεύμεθα here continues the martial imagery of the ὠθισμός (26.1 n.).

διδόντες αἵρεσιν . . . ἄρχειν 'offering (you) the choice of whichever wing you wish to command'; the genitive ὁκοτέρου κέρεος is dependent on ἄρχειν. Cf. Gelon at 7.160.2, who offers the Greeks a choice of which element of the army he will command.

ἱκνέεσθαι 'it is fitting' (LSJ s.v. IIIa), lit. 'it comes (to us)'; there is no need for Koen's ⟨ἐς⟩ ἡμέας: cf. 2.36.1.

κατά περ 'just as'; the two are sometimes written as one word; a verb such as 'was done' is understood.

τοῦ ἀπηγημένου ἔργου 'the deed that has been related'; the passive of ἀπηγέομαι occurs only in the perfect in H.

ἀξιονικότεροι 'worthy of being preferred'; stronger than simply ἄξιοι, it means also 'worthy of victory'; cf. 7.187.2: οὐδεὶς . . . ἀξιονικότερος ἦν αὐτοῦ Ξέρξεω ἔχειν τοῦτο τὸ κράτος. The word recurs only once more, 28.1 below. There is a certain ambiguity in the Tegeans' words: it is unclear whether they consider themselves 'more worthy of victory' in the battle or (as syntax suggests) 'more worthy to win this victory' of position.

26.7 πολλοὶ . . . ἡμῖν . . . ἀγῶνες . . . ἀγωνίδαται 'many contests have been waged by us': for the verb form, Intr. §7.F.3, and for the equation of war with sport, 9.2n.

εὖ ἔχοντες 'successful', lit. 'holding well'.

οὕτω ὦν 'in this way then', the ὦν indicating, as usual, logical consequence, while reinforcing the whole sequence of events summed up by οὕτω.

δίκαιον . . . ἤ περ Ἀθηναίους: the positive degree of an adjective + ἤ is rare, but cf. Thuc. 6.21.2; cf. H. 3.40.2 for similar absence of μᾶλλον.

σφι . . . ἡμῖν: the first dative is possessive; the second is dative of agent with κατεργασμένα.

οὔτ' ὦν: for the sense of ὦν here see 18.3n.

καινὰ . . . παλαιά: echoing the narrator's words at 26.1, and forming a ring-composition with them; immediately picked up in reverse order by the Athenians (27.1).

27.1–6 The speech of the Athenians

Arguing for their worthiness to hold the second place of honour in the line, the Athenians array against the Tegean boast about Echemus a series of ancient deeds, including their protection of the Heracleidae, and their successful repulse of the Amazons. They then turn to recent history, with but one deed, which they judge sufficient by itself to justify their renown: their victory over the Persians at Marathon. With some slight historical exaggeration (27.5n.), they match the 'single combat' of Hyllus and Echemus with one of their own, against the Persians. In the end, therefore, achievement of old is surpassed by recent actions, and when the Spartans approve the Athenians as the more worthy, they are acknowledging, as H. had been at pains to emphasise throughout, that it was the combined efforts of both leading states of Greece that made victory over the Persians possible. The Athenian speech here anticipates the formal and highly developed Athenian funeral oration (ἐπιτάφιος λόγος) of the fifth and early fourth centuries, known from Thuc., Lys., Demosth., Hyper., and Plat.'s *Menex.*, and it is generally assumed that H.'s sources here must be Athenian (Meyer 1892–9: II.219–22, 279; Schröder 1914: 2–3; Jacoby 1956: 464). Many of the events recounted here become fixed in the later tradition, where they are, not surprisingly, treated at greater length (see individual nn. below). It is not certain when the custom of the funeral oration arose at Athens, although the general consensus is that the ceremony of public burial, during which the funeral oration was delivered, did not begin until the mid 460s (a convenient summary in Hornblower, *CT* 1.292–3; cf. 85.2n.), and it is generally accepted that H.'s speech did not have a substantial influence on

Athenian funeral orations. Nor need we posit a direct one-to-one influence of Athenian *epitaphioi logoi* on H., since praises of Athens must surely have been made before the formal introduction of a 'funeral speech', and the sorts of praises used here by the Athenians are familiar from some parts of tragedy. We can assume rather that when he was composing his work from about 460 to 420 (Intr. §1), H. became familiar with Athenian praises of themselves in a variety of forms, and used these elements when he was constructing speeches for the Athenians before Plataea.

27.1 μάχης εἵνεκα . . . ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων: in contrasting action with words the Athenians avail themselves of a contrast between λόγος and ἔργον that is characteristic of funeral orations: see Loraux 1986: 232–6. They here reject the notion of an ὠθισμὸς λόγων (27.1 n.) as inappropriate to what the current situation demands. Cf. Thuc. 3.67.6, cited next n.

προέθηκε 'has set as our task' (Stein) rather than 'propounded' (Powell, s.v. 4); the verb is commonly used of 'setting up' contests: cf. Eur. *Med.* 546; Thuc. 3.67.6 οὐ λόγων τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες ἀλλ' ἔργων (spoken by the Thebans to the Spartans at Plataea!).

παλαιά τε καὶ καινά: cf. 26.7 last n.

ἐν τῶι παντὶ χρόνωι 'in all (previous) time', not essentially different from the Tegeans' ἐν τῶι πρόσθε χρόνωι (26.6).

χρηστὰ . . . χρηστοῖσι 'brave', though not wholly devoid of the sense of 'useful' since the Athenians will particularly note those actions that put down insolence (ὕβριν, 27.2) or, as with their previous actions against the Persians, won safety for the Greeks. Cf. 3.1 n.

ἀναγκαίως . . . ἔχει: for the phrase cf. 8.140α.2; speaking under 'necessity' is a mark of the funeral orations (Loraux 1986: 89–90) and, more generally, one often invokes necessity or self-defence before embarking on self-praise: Marincola 1997: 175–6.

ὅθεν ἡμῖν πατρώϊόν ἐστι 'how (lit. 'from where') it is our heritage', or 'inheritance'.

αἰεὶ πρώτοισι εἶναι 'always to be first': there is a notable ambiguity in the Athenians' remarks here, for although they seem to limit the comparison to one between themselves and the Arcadians (μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι), the very words here suggest both the leaders in battle (the πρωτόμαχοι) and those who are otherwise most prominent (cf. *Od.* 8.180–1 ἐν πρώτοισιν ὀΐω | ἔμμεναι, Odysseus to Euryalus); there may also be an implicit reference to the Homeric αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν (*Il.* 6.208 et al.). As such, the words constitute a claim of superiority even to the Spartans, although they

might understand them as 'first after us'. And again, not surprisingly, in the funeral orations Athens is described as πρόμαχος (Loraux 1986: 68).

27.2 Ἡρακλείδας: this emphatic way of beginning the sentence picks up immediately the Tegeans' great exploit, but as the sentence unfolds, the Athenians will give a very different twist to the story. Ἡρακλείδας is in apposition with τούτους, which is, properly speaking, the object of ὑποδεξάμενοι.

τῶν = ὧν (Intr. §7.E.3).

ἐξελαυνομένους ὑπὸ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο 'being driven out by all the Greeks among whom they arrived': the expression is slightly elliptical; the optative (for the form, Intr. §7.F.3) is iterative, as in a past general condition (Smyth §2340), equivalent to saying 'into whatever lands they fled, from these they were driven by the Greeks'. According to the Athenian story, known best from Euripides' *Heracleidae*, the sons of Heracles were continually prevented from finding refuge by Eurystheus (26.2n.) who ordered the cities not to provide sanctuary for them. The Athenians alone stood up to him and put an end to his arrogance. This story of Athenian reception and protection of the Heracleidae is not found before the fifth century, the earliest treatments being Pherecydes (early 5th c.), *FGrHist* 3 F 84 (= *EGM* F 84), and a lost play on the subject by Aeschylus (*TrGF* FF 73b–77). For a convenient listing of the literary sources on the flight of the Heracleidae to Athens, see Wilkins 1993: xiv–xviii. For innovation in Athenian myth-making in the later fifth century, cf. Parker 1987. Eur.'s play, given its date (*c.* 430, see Wilkins xxxiii–v), may have been known to H. and present to his mind when he composed these speeches. The action of the Athenians here is one of a type that later becomes well-known in their tradition, i.e., Athens as defender of the weak, and appears in all of the *epitaphioi*: Loraux 1986: 67.

πρὸς Μυκηναίων: because Eurystheus was king over Mycenae (cf. Thuc. 1.9.2). πρός here = 'at the hands of'.

μοῦνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι 'alone having received (these) as guests': the Athenians take up the μουνομαχῆσαι of the Tegeans (26.3, 5) with the first of their 'solitary' actions; cf. 27.5 where they refer to their 'single combat'.

σὺν ἐκείνοισι: i.e., the Heracleidae; since they are the ancestors of the Spartan royal houses, this action serves as an earlier model for the Spartan/Athenian alliance of the present war.

μάχηι νικήσαντες: a brilliant turning of the tables on the Tegeans: they who claimed to be the leaders of the Peloponnesians at that time were in their turn defeated by a combined Athenian-Heraclid force.

27.3 τοῦτο δέ: introducing the second in their series of exploits.

τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐλάσαντας: the story of Polynices' expedition with the Argives against his brother Eteocles was well known from the *Thebaid* of the epic tradition (*PEG* 1.20–28) and especially from Aesch.'s *Seven against Thebes* (*c.* 467). In Soph.'s *Antigone* (*c.* 442 or 441) Polynices is buried (reluctantly) by Creon, and Pind. *Ol.* 6.15 seems to assume that all of them were buried in Thebes. H. is our earliest witness for this as a specifically Athenian activity, which is taken up by Eur. in his *Suppliants* (*c.* 422), and by the orators in the funeral orations (Loraux 1986: 148, 216).

τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα: see 17.4n.

ἀτάφους κειμένους: the Athenians here emphasise their piety by showing their concern for the unburied.

ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους: the inhabitants of Thebes were so called from their legendary founder, Cadmus the Phoenician. This Athenian attack prefigures both the attack on Thebes after Plataea (86) and the Theban-Athenian hostility of H.'s own day.

φαμεν 'we affirm'. The word is not otiose, because (if it is correct that H. is the earliest witness for this action) the Athenians make an emphatic avowal just where there is innovation in the tradition.

τῆς ἡμετέρης: sc. γῆς, the genitive dependent on Ἐλευσῖνι 'in Eleusis (which is part) of our territory'; for this so-called chorographic genitive, see Smyth §1311. Paus. 1.39.2 says that the tombs were shown in his day on the road from Megara to Eleusis.

27.4 ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας: this famous race of female warriors had been treated by H. in connection with the Scythians (4.110–117), where he also mentioned (110.1) the war between Greeks and Amazons at the river Thermodon, but said nothing more about their dealings with Greeks. They were already known to Hom. (*Il.* 6.186 et al.) and to the early epic tradition, where, among other exploits, their queen Penthesilea fought on the side of the Trojans and was slain by Achilles. A late 6th-c. poem, the *Theseid* (*PEG* 1.135–6; *EGF* 155–6), narrated an Amazonian invasion of Attica jointly repelled by Theseus and Heracles (Plut. *Thes.* 28.1), and the myth had particular importance at Athens. There were several portrayals of the event on public buildings: the metopes on the west end of the Parthenon, murals in the Theseum, sculptures on the temple of Hephaestus, and – perhaps most importantly for H. – a painting in the Stoa Poikile, where their battle with the Athenians stood side by side with the Athenians fighting the Persians at Marathon. The juxtaposition of the battles in the Stoa shows that already by H.'s time the Athenians had linked the two events. Here,

however, H. treats it briefly, almost discreetly, since his purpose is not simply to glorify Athens but rather to emphasise the main piece of evidence – the (historical) battle of Marathon. For the Amazons see *LIMC* 1.586–653, and for Athens specifically, Tyrrell 1984 and Castriota 1992; for the Amazonian defeat in the funeral orations see Loraux 1986: 146–8.

τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλούσας: the Thermodon is in Pontus, flowing northward into the Black Sea. The participle shows that the Amazons were the aggressors, and in that additional sense forerunners of the Persians.

Τρωικοῖσι πόνοισι: for πόνος as the 'toil' of war, see 2.2n. on ἀπόνως.

οὐδαμῶν ἐλιπόμεθα 'we fell short of none'. This is the briefest reference of all, necessary because of the status of the Trojan war as the greatest conflict of all time, but vague because the Athenians play little part in Hom. (they are mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships, *Il.* 2.546–56 and a few other places). See Mills 1997: 9–10 on Athenian attempts to enhance their role by emphasising the participation of Acamas and Demophon, the sons of Theseus.

ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμεμνῆσθαι 'but enough – for it is of no benefit to recall these things'; the ἀλλά dismisses the subject, the γάρ explains why: cf. Smyth §2719, *AGPS* §69.14.4, and 46.3n., 113.2n., and 27.6 for a slightly different use of ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ. This is the only place in H. where προέχει means 'it profits'.

ἂν . . . ἂν εἶεν . . . ἂν εἶεν: potential optative: the tripled ἄν emphasises the hypothetical nature of the remark. The idea that men once brave might now be cowards and vice versa accords well with the historian's observations (1.5.3) on the cyclical nature of human events. Cf. Thuc. 1.86.1 for a possible echo of this remark.

ὡυτοί = οἱ αὐτοί: Intr. §7.A.2.

27.5 παλαιῶν . . . ἔστω 'Now let this be enough of ancient deeds.' The preference for more recent deeds over the distant past is characteristic of other praises of Athens (Thuc. 1.73.2 with Loraux 1986: 90; Pericles at Thuc. 2.36 with Rusten 1989 ad loc.), and we might also note that the Athenians' de-emphasis here of their early deeds mirrors the narrator's own attitude, as can be seen, e.g., in his rejection of the mythical stories with which his history begins in favour of historical time, what he himself knows (cf. 1.5.3).

ἡμῖν . . . μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ ἀποδεδεγμένον 'if we had displayed no other deed': ἔργον must be supplied from the previous sentence; the notion of

'displaying deeds' carries with it not only accomplishment but a public performance or display of such accomplishment, of the sort commemorated by a poet or prose writer: cf. ἔργα... ἀποδεχθέντα (*praef.*), ἔργον ἀποδεδεγμένον (below, 72.2); Nagy 1987: 175–8.

ὥσπερ... Ἑλλήνων 'in as much as we, if any of the Greeks, have performed many successful exploits'. ὥσπερ reads somewhat oddly here, since context seems to demand a concessive sense ('if we had done nothing else, although we, if any of the Greeks, have, etc.'). The idiom εἴ τις (καὶ) ἄλλος (here in the dat. of agent with ἀποδεδεγμένα understood) indicates that if something is true of others, it is especially true of the subject at hand: cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 5.1.6: εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἀνήρ, καὶ Κῦρος ἄξιός ἐστι θαυμάζεσθαι ('if any (other) man is worthy to be admired, Cyrus is especially so'); cf. K-G II.256.

πολλά τε καὶ εὖ ἔχοντά: cf. 26.7n.

ἀλλά 'at any rate'; for ἀλλά in apodoses, see *GP* 10–12, *AGPS* §69.4.5.

καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτωι 'and other (honours) in addition to this one'.

μοῦνοι... μουνομαχήσαντες τῶι Πέρσηι: the emphatic repetition again answers the Tegeans' single combat with Hyllus (26.3), here easily defeating their deed of 'ancient' history. μοῦνοι, however, is not simply a pleonasm but has an important purpose: as the subject of περιγενόμεθα, it maintains historical accuracy before the Spartans, since the Athenians were not the only ones who had engaged on land with the Persians – the Spartans had also done that at Thermopylae – but they were the only ones who survived. μοῦνοι should also be taken with ἐνικήσαμεν, but in the slightly different sense of 'by ourselves'. Here begins the durable myth perpetrated by the Athenians, that they fought alone at Marathon (see Walters 1981). In fact, as H. himself narrates, the entire Plataean army (Πλαταιέες πανδημεί, 6.108.1) joined the Athenians and fought alongside them.

ἔθνεα ἕξ τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα: 'forty-six nations', enumerated by H. at 7.60–81, make up the land army of the Persians under Xerxes. H. here assumes that the forces under Datis and Artaphernes in 490 were exactly the same.

27.6 ἀλλ'... γὰρ 'but since', both particles having their primary sense; cf. 27.4n.

ἐν τῶι τοιῶιδε 'at such a time', καιρῶι or the like being understood.

ἀρτίοί εἰμεν: generally meaning 'well-fitted, suitable', ἄρτιος here has the sense of 'ready'; the adjective occurs only in Book 9 (also 48.3, 53.2).

ἵνα 'where(ever)'.

κατ' οὕστινας 'against whomever'.

πάντηι 'in any place'.

ὡς πεισομένων 'as men who will obey'.

28.1 ἀνέβωσε ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον: Thuc. 1.87.2 (quoted, 55.2n.) says that the Spartans voted by acclamation.

ἀξιονικοτέρους: cf. 26.6n.

ὑπερεβάλοντο 'won out over', continuing the imagery of the ὠθισμός (26.1 n.).

28.2–32.2 Catalogue of forces

H. now enumerates the troop strength of the nations fighting on each side, and where they were placed in the battle line (see App. D). Earlier examples of such a procedure can be seen in the detailed and lengthy catalogue of Xerxes' forces (7.61–99), and (much more briefly) the Greek forces before the battles of Artemisium (8.1) and Salamis (8.43–48). The catalogue is a favourite device of ancient poetry in general, but the ones in H. owe most to the *Iliad*, which contains a long catalogue of Achaean (2.494–779) and a much briefer catalogue of Trojan (2.816–77) forces (see H.'s explicit comparison of Xerxes' army with the armament of the Trojan War, 7.20.2). Given that H.'s narrative of Plataea is not exceedingly concerned with individual tactics and movements, the purpose of the catalogue seems much more to be the formal roll-call of the antagonists as a means of creating narrative retardation (Intr. §2) and of heightening the importance of the conflict. Cf. Thuc. 7.57–8 where a similar use of a catalogue of forces precedes the last and climactic battle of the Sicilian expedition.

28.2–30 Catalogue and arrangement of the Greek forces

This passage is of great importance for our knowledge of the population of mainland Greece. Sparta, Corinth, and Sicyon are not elsewhere recorded as having fielded armies so large; nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt the numbers given here (as does Beloch 1886: 118–19). The figure for Corinth is well defended by Salmon 1984: 165–9; Sparta experienced a steep decline in citizen numbers during the 5th and early 4th c. due to a variety of contributing factors (see Cartledge 1979: 307–18).

28.2 οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντες 'those who came afterwards', lit. 'in addition', referring to those who joined the army after it was in Boeotia, as opposed to those who were with the army from the beginning (οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες).

ψιλοὶ τῶν εἱλωτέων 'light-armed troops consisting of helots'; on the meaning of ψιλοί see 29.2n.

περὶ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἑπτὰ τεταγμένοι: at Thermopylae there seems to have been only one helot attendant for each Spartiate (7.229.1), and this was the usual ratio in Greek warfare (see 29.2n.). It is not implausible, however, that so large a number of helots was taken along for this contest (*contra* Lazenby 227–8): given the unstable situation in the Peloponnese (8.2 n.) and the unprecedented numbers of Spartiates being sent out on this expedition, it would have been far more dangerous to have left so many helots behind (cf. Hignett 280, 437; Green 231; Hunt, 1997: 142–3, 1998: 38–9). Suspicion is aroused, however, because 7 is a typical number in H. and occurs with striking frequency (Fehling 1989: 225–6). Although modern scholars have traditionally denied them any effective role in the actual battle, H. assigns them a military role, and many helots must have died fighting, since there was a separate grave for them: see Ducat 1990: 158, van Wees 1995: 163–4, and Hunt (below); cf. further 85.2n. It is possible (as suggested by Cawkwell 1989: 388) that they fought by hurling stones and javelins while crouching on either side of a Spartan hoplite, as described in Tyrtaeus (*IEG*² F 11.35–8). Although H. does not say so, it is a reasonable conjecture that some of them guarded the mountain passes and helped to convey supplies (Welwei 1974: 123; cf. 50n. and 51.4n.), while others, of course, served as the personal attendants of their Spartiate masters, as the phrase περὶ ἕκαστον implies. The thesis of Hunt 1997; 1998: 31–41 that the helots fought as hoplites, forming the 7 rear rows of an 8-row phalanx, is highly implausible, given the level of training and armament needed for successful hoplite fighting: see Trevett 1999: 183.

28.3 καὶ τιμῆς εἵνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς: the first genitive is objective (the honour in which the Spartans hold the Tegeans), the second subjective (the Tegeans' own bravery, as they had exemplified in their speech); on ἀρετή, 21.2n.

εὕροντο: cf. 26.3n.

Ποτειδαιητέων τῶν ἐκ Παλλήνης: Potidaea was a colony of Corinth in N.E. Greece (Thuc. 1.56.2), so it was natural for the mother-city to want this; but that fact alone does not fully account for the Corinthian request, since 1300 hoplites from the Corinthian colonies of Ambracia, Leucas, and Anactorium were stationed further down the line in the left centre. Perhaps Corinth wanted to honour these men because Potidaea had recently (winter 480/479) revolted from Persian control and survived a three-month siege by

Artabazus (8.126–9). On another level, however, this brief notice undoubtedly carried a particular resonance for H.'s contemporary audience, since one of the grievances leading to the Peloponnesian War was Corinthian outrage at the Athenian siege of Potidaea (a subject-ally of Athens in the Delian League), which itself had been prompted by an Athenian demand in 432 that Potidaea cease receiving yearly magistrates from Corinth (Thuc. 1.56–67). The notice here tends to emphasise the closeness of Corinth and Potidaea and so may implicitly question the justification for (later) Athenian interference.

28.4 **τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι** '(being) next to these' (Powell, s.v. ἔξω C.1.).

28.6 **Ἀριστείδης**: one of the most famous 5th c. statesmen. His previous actions at Salamis were narrated by H. at 8.79–81, 95; this is the only mention of him in Book 9; Plutarch makes him a major figure at Plataea: see Intr. §5d.

29.1 **συνάπαντες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν**: unlike the number of Persian forces, this total for the Greek hoplites, the largest hoplite army ever assembled, is credible.

πᾶς τις παρήρτητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον 'each was prepared as for war'; for παραρτέομαι with ὡς cf. 8.81, 108.1. H.'s point cannot be that the other ψιλοί were not bearing weapons (*pace* Hunt 1997: 131), since he says that all of the light-armed were μάχιμοι, but rather that it was surprising that helots were so armed. For helot participation see 28.2n.

29.2 **ψιλοί**: lit. 'bare', 'uncovered', so called because light-armed troops did not wear body armour; they were equipped with a throwing javelin, a dagger, and a wicker shield faced with animal skin. See further Snodgrass 1967: 77–88. H. leaves it unclear whether these light-armed troops, apart from the helots, were slaves or free-born Greeks who could not afford hoplite armour. The latter is somewhat more likely, given that they were μάχιμοι; yet it was the custom that hoplites and cavalrymen took slave-attendants with them into war (see Thuc. 7.75.5 for the presence of ἀκολουθοί during the siege of Syracuse) and these ψιλοί conceivably could have done double duty.

ὡς εἷς περὶ ἕκαστον ἐὼν ἄνδρα 'being one for each man': this was the usual ratio in Greek warfare as opposed to the 7–1 ratio of helots to Spartiates mentioned at 28.2.

πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι: this total is 800 too many, given H.'s stated method of calculation. If the number of hoplites, minus the 5,000 Spartiates, is 33,700 and if there was one light-armed

soldier for each hoplite, the total of light-armed should also be 33,700, not 34,500. Either H. has counted wrong (which he has done elsewhere: cf. 1.130; 3.90–95; 5.52–54; 8.43–48) or we should assume that the Athenian archers (mentioned at 22 and 60) comprised the extra 800 (cf. Macan 656; HW 300).

30 ψιλοῖσι τοῖσι μαχίμοισι 'the light-armed troops fit for battle'.

μιῆς χιλιάδος . . . καταδέουσαι 'minus (lit. 'lacking') one thousand and eight hundred'; πρός here is used adverbially ('besides'). The total forces are thus 108,200 (110,000 – 1,800).

οἱ περιεόντες: 'the survivors'. 700 Thespians had fallen at Thermopylae (7.222) and when Thespiae, along with Plataea, was burnt to the ground by the advancing Persian army, the Thespians fled into the Peloponnese (8.50).

ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους 'to the number of 1,800'; for ἐς used in this way with numerals, cf. below 66.2.

ὅπλα: 'hoplite armour' as opposed to the javelins, bows, slings, and lighter shields of the ψιλοί; cf. 62.3, 63.2nn.

31–32 Catalogue and arrangement of Mardonius' army

31.1 ὡς ἀπεκήδευσαν Μασίστιον: the narrative of Persian action is resumed from ch. 24.

31.2 καὶ δὴ πολλὸν γὰρ . . . τοὺς Τεγεήτας 'and in fact because the Persians were much greater in number, they were marshalled in greater depth and they stood facing the Tegeans also.' For a γάρ clause moved forward to give the explanation before the consequence, see *AGPS* §69.14.3. ἐπὶ τάξις πλεῦνας (lit. 'in more lines') must mean here 'more than the Spartans' and 'more than they would otherwise have done'. The consequence of Persian numerical superiority was thus two-fold, a greater depth and a longer line.

πλεῦνας: on the form see Intr. §7.F.4

πᾶν ἀπολέξας 'having chosen out in its entirety'; πᾶν, of course, refers to ὅ τι . . . δυνατώτατον, the most powerful portion of his troops which Mardonius stationed opposite the Spartans, reserving the weaker element for the Tegeans.

φραζόντων τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων: here again (see 17.1 n.) H. stresses that the Thebans were not passively supporting the Persians, but were actively aiding and abetting them.

31.3 Μήδους: cf. 7α.1 n.

Βακτρίους: the Bactrians inhabited the land between Persia and India (roughly modern Afghanistan); their governor at the time was Masistes (113.1 n.), but their commander here was Hystaspes, son of Darius and Atossa. They were armed with bows and short spears, according to the catalogue of forces at 7.64.1.

31.4 Ἰνδούς: in the catalogue of forces, they are under the command of Pharnazathres, and carry bows and arrows with iron points (7.65).

Σάκας: H. notes that this is the name the Persians give to all the Scythian tribes; these particular ones he identifies as the Amyrgian Scyths (they are not mentioned in the catalogue of Scythian tribes at 4.17–27), who carried bows, daggers, and battle-axes, and were, like the Bactrians, under the command of Hystaspes (7.64.2).

31.5 τὰ Ἑλλήνων ηὖξον 'supported the Greek side', lit. 'were increasing the things of the Greeks'; the same phrase at 8.30.2 in connection with these same Phocians.

περὶ τὸν Παρνησσὸν κατειλημένοι 'hemmed in around Parnassus'. κατειλέω generally means 'to coop up, shut in' (see 1.80 and 70.4 below), and was probably suggested by the narrow confines of the mountain: cf. 8.27.3: κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸν Παρνησσὸν οἱ Φωκέες.

ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον 'they were plundering'; for the stock phrase φέρειν τε καὶ ἄγειν see 1.88.3, 6.42.1 and Powell, s.v. ἄγω VIII.1. The former refers to 'carrying off' property and the latter to 'driving off' animals.

τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους 'those dwelling in the parts around Thessaly': these included Perrhaebians, Enianians, Dolopes, Magnetes, and Achaeans of Phthiotis (7.132, 185).

32.1 λόγου πλείστου 'of most account'; cf. 70.1, ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγωι.

ἐν δέ 'and present too', repeating the thought of ἐνῆσαν; the genitives τῶν Αἰθιόπων and τῶν Αἰγυπτίων are coordinate with ἄλλων ἐθνέων.

οἵ τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες κτλ: the grammar is loose here: these nouns must be taken with both Αἰθιόπων and Αἰγυπτίων, which are partitive genitives, but logically the clause can only refer to the Egyptians (see next note but one).

μαχαιροφόροι 'bearing knives': at 7.89.3 H. says of the Egyptians τὸ δὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν θωρηκοφόροι ἦσαν, μαχαίρας δὲ μεγάλας εἶχον.

μοῦνοι μάχιμοι: this comment is not meant to be disparaging, for the Calasirians and Hermotybians comprised the warrior caste among the Egyptians (2.164–167). The distinction between them, however, is unclear:

it may have been geographical (one stationed in upper, one in lower Egypt) or ethnic (one group Nubian, the other Libyan): see A. B. Lloyd 1979–88: III.182–7.

32.2 τούτους . . . ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπεβιβάσατο 'he [sc. Mardonius] had them disembark from the ships', which were 200 in number (7.89.2).

τριήκοντα μυριάδες: modern scholars are unanimous that this figure (as for that of Xerxes' original army of invasion) is impossibly high, but there is little agreement about how to approximate the actual number. Estimates range from 120,000 (*CAH* IV^2.534) to 30,000 (Green 211). The fact that Ctesias (*FGrHist* 688 F 13.28) put Mardonius' force at 120,000 has no more validity than H.'s 300,000. Hignett 351 (accepted by Green 58, 211) posits (perhaps too simplistically) that the Greeks consistently misinterpreted a Persian chiliad (1,000 men) as a myriad (10,000 men), and thus one should divide barbarian numbers by 10. This would give 30,000 Asiatic infantry at Plataea, and that number is indeed consistent with logistical considerations (Young 1980 argues that Mardonius could not have provisioned an army even as small as 60,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, which is the estimate of Burn 511 based on the size of Mardonius' stockade, 15.3n.). A more conservative estimate would be 60,000 (Hignett 267, Briant 1996: 544). However that may be, it is important to note the mentality which lies behind the Greek exaggeration: 'the greater the numbers of the invading forces, the more powerful the fact of Greek victory' (Croally 1994: 114).

ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται: at 8.113.3 Mardonius selected this number from the forces of Xerxes before the King left Greece. He picked out the Persians, Medes, Sacae, Bactrians, and Indians, both foot and horse, in their entirety (though presumably Xerxes took some of his personal guard, described at 7.40–41, back with him), and certain men from other nations. There are some difficulties with this list (Lazenby 207), but we can well believe that Mardonius retained the best units. And despite what the Greek sources claim (Aesch. *Pers.* 803–4; Thuc. 1.73.5; Diod. 11.19.5–6; Plut. *Them.* 16.5; cf. HW 273–4 and Lazenby 205) this selection may actually have comprised the bulk of Xerxes' original land force.

οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἠριθμήθησαν 'for of course they were not counted'; on the force of ὦν see *GP* 447 (2). Or, if they had been, this information was conveniently forgotten later by the cities that had medised.

ὡς δὲ ἐπεικάσαι 'but to conjecture'; for the absolute construction with infinitive see Smyth §2012; for the verb, see next n. but one; also 34.1n.

ἐς πέντε μυριάδας: Lazenby 228 suggests 20,000, including cavalry, as a more likely number, about half of whom would have been Boeotians.

εἰκάζω: the word can be used for any sort of inference (2.104.2) or reckoning (1.34.1); as so often in H. we do not know how he arrived at this number; cf. Powell's gloss (s.v. 1) of 'guess'.

ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο: H. did not know their number; at 8.113 he included cavalry in his total of 300,000 for Mardonius' forces, and he surely does so here too. If there is any value to the hypothesised chiliad/myriad confusion (see above), 8,000 would be the highest possible figure, for at 7.87.1 H. put Xerxes' original cavalry force at 80,000. The lowest possible estimate for the Persian contingent is 1,000, since at 8.113 H. says that Mardonius selected from among the Persians 'the thousand cavalry'.

33–38.1 The seers Teisamenus and Hegesistratus

H. now moves from the dispositions of the troops to the activities of the seers on either side. As the gods appear only indirectly in H. through dreams and omens and the like (Intr. §6c), the seer is a figure of crucial importance, for only he can be trusted to interpret their messages. Since neither seer was by birth attached to his army, H. fills in the background of how each came to be serving with his respective army. Teisamenus, an Elean who was serving as the Spartan diviner, had been brought (and bought) by the Spartans in response to an oracle that stated he was to win 'the five greatest contests'. Hegesistratus, on the other hand, was an inveterate enemy of the Spartans, and so, although a Greek, agreed to serve as the Persian diviner. The space allotted to both incidents may be thought disproportionate, but the Greeks (and H.) took these religious matters seriously (Green 251; Mikalson 1983: 45–6; Harrison 2000: 122–57), and as sacrifice will loom large in the actual narrative of the battle, so here H. carefully sets the stage for their actions. For possible parallels between the situations of the seers and the general Pausanias, see Munson 2001: 60–70. See further next n., 33.1, 37.1–4, and 93–95nn.

33–35 The story of Teisamenus, the seer for the Greeks

How Teisamenus came to be with the Spartan army is here told at length; sandwiched within the narrative is the story of the legendary seer Melampous, to whose actions H. compares those of Teisamenus.

Teisamenus – his name means 'Avenger' (Immerwahr 1966: 294–5) – receives a prophecy from Delphi, which he fails to understand (a common Herodotean motif: see Intr. §6c), but the truth of which the Spartans eventually discover. They ask for his services, but his price (citizenship) they consider exorbitant and so dismiss him. But with the Persian invasion they realise their intense need for him and accede to his demand, only to find that he now ups his price and asks for citizenship for both himself and his brother. The Spartans, however vexed, concede this demand as well. H. compares this story with that of Melampous whom, he says, Teisamenus deliberately imitated, but the parallel may be H.'s own invention, since Melampous' story is not told in quite the same way in the earlier tradition (see 34.1 n.). It is possible that Herodotus has derived his account of Teisamenus from family tradition, since Teisamenus and his descendants probably became domiciled in the Spartan village of Pitana (35.1 n.) and Herodotus claims to have visited there (53.2n.).

33.1 **οἱ**: Mardonius (dat. of agent with the plupf. passive).

κατά τε ἔθνεα καὶ κατὰ τέλεα 'by nation and by unit', the τέλεα being the divisions within each ἔθνος.

καὶ ἀμφότεροι 'both sides'; the καί here is emphatic, but there is no reason to suppose (with Macan 664) that one would not have expected the Persians to sacrifice; though their gods were not those of the Greeks, they did sacrifice (1.131–132); what was odd, and what is delayed by H. until it is most appropriate (37.1), is that the Persians were using a *Greek* seer. The Magi, who always preside at a Persian sacrifice (1.132.3), presumably returned with Xerxes to Persia.

ὁ θυόμενος: the seer (μάντις: see next n.) was the one who sacrificed the victim (a lamb, young goat, or calf: Paus. 6.2.5) and then examined the entrails (a method called extispicy) while the commander looked on (a Spartan king, however, in his capacity as priest, might conduct the sacrifice himself, with a seer to interpret the signs: Xen. *Lac.* 13 with Pritchett, *GSAW* III.67). The sacrifice took place at a makeshift altar, and both seer and general would have been garlanded (cf. Xen. *An.* 7.1.40). The organ most commonly used for divination was the liver (Plato *Tim.* 72b), and the most frequently used animals seem to have been sheep (Xen. *An.* 6.4.22; 7.8.19). The Iamidae at Olympia (see next n. but one) practised divination by examining the cracks in the burnt skins of sacrificial animals (Parke 1967: 184–5); but most seers were expert in more than one means of divination.

μάντις 'as their seer'. A *mantis* (variously translated as 'soothsayer', 'diviner', 'prophet', or, as here, 'seer') was an expert in the art of divination (see esp. Lonis 1979: 95–115; Pritchett, *GSAW* III.47–90; Roth 1982; Jameson 1991; and Bremmer 1996). They practised a 'craft' or 'skill' (ἡ μαντικὴ τέχνη) and tended to move from city to city, attaching themselves to prominent generals and statesmen as their personal advisors; the most successful seers were migrant charismatic specialists (Burkert 1992: 42). With this combination of skill and charisma, μάντεις were the most authoritative experts on religious matters. Their competence was exceptionally broad, encompassing all of the various forms of divination: interpretation of bird signs, dreams, portents, and entrails, as well as ecstatic utterance. And although books on divination were available by the end of the 5th c. (Pritchett, *GSAW* III.73), the most respected and sought after seers belonged to families that had practised seercraft for many generations, reaching back to an eponymous ancestor who had acquired prophetic power either as the gift of a god (usually Apollo: see Euenius, 93–94 below) or by some other supernatural means. A seer performed different functions in Greek society from a priest (ἱερεύς), who was usually an elected or hereditary public official with no special religious training or knowledge (see Finley 1985: xv–xvi; Price 1999: 67–73).

καὶ γένεος Ἰαμιδέων Κλυτιάδην 'a Klytiad of the family of the Iamidae'. γένος in H. can mean 'nation' or 'family'; when the former it takes an adjective (Ἑλληνικόν, 1.143.2; Σκυθικόν, 4.46.2), when the latter a genitive (τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, 1.7.1). During the imperial period, and probably as far back as the 5th c. BC, the Elean families of the Iamidae and Klytiadae were the official stewards of the oracle of Zeus at Olympia, a post which they jointly held until at least AD 265. Since only one seer was chosen from each of the two families to work the oracle, other members might seek employment as itinerant seers throughout the Greek world. But could Teisamenus have been both a Iamid and a Klytiad? The Iamidae traced their descent from Iamus, son of Apollo (Pind. *Ol.* 6. 35–72); the Klytiadae traced theirs from Melampous (Paus. 6.17.6; cf. 34.1 n. Cic. *Div.* 1.41.91 says that both families 'excelled in the art of extispicy'). It is possible that Κλυτιάδην is a scholiast's gloss: since the Klytiadae claimed descent from Melampous, making Teisamenus one of them would give added point to Teisamenus' imitation of Melampous in the digression which follows. Alternatively, the Klytiadae may have been a branch of the Iamidae (so Bouché-Leclercq 1879: II. 70); or this may be an early instance of adoption from one family

into the other such as seems to be found in the case of one seer of the 3rd c. AD, as revealed by inscriptional records (lists of officiating seers from 36 BC to AD 265) from Olympia. See Weniger 1915, esp. 64–72 and Parke 1967: 173–7, 191 n. 30. For another suggestion, see App. B.

ἐποιήσαντο λεωσφέτερον 'made him their fellow-citizen'; λεωσφέτερον occurs only here in extant Greek literature, most likely a compound of λεώς (people) and σφέτερος, although other derivations have been proposed, and its uniqueness has caused some to suspect corruption.

33.2 Τεισαμενῶι γὰρ μαντευομένωι: the particle γάρ here is explanatory in the widest sense, introducing an embedded narrative, i.e., an account within an account. In H. these embedded narratives can sometimes extend over quite a range; for other examples of γάρ introducing embedded narratives, see de Jong 1997.

μαντευομένωι ... ἀνεῖλε ... ἀναιρήσεσθαι: there is a slight play on words here: μαντεύομαι means both 'to consult an oracle' and 'to act as a seer'; ἀναιρέω in the active is 'to give an oracular response', in the middle, 'to win', and can be used for victory in both athletics and war (cf. 9.2n., 64.2n.).

περὶ γόνου 'about (having) offspring', a very common type of question: at 5.92β.2 Eëtion goes to Delphi περὶ γόνου. When Ion (Eur. *Ion* 303) hears that Xuthus has come to consult Apollo, he immediately asks, 'Have you come about harvests or children?'; cf. Eur. *Med.* 669, where Aegeus goes to Delphi to inquire how he might have children. There are several other examples in H. of the Pythia giving an answer which seems completely unrelated to the question. Such spontaneous oracles in H. usually turn out well for the recipient: here Apollo directs Teisamenus to a glorious career. For others, cf. 4.151, 155; 5.63. According to Paus. 3.11.5, Teisamenus had a son named Agelochus.

πέντε: emphatic by position.

ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χρηστηρίου 'failing to understand the (meaning of the) oracle'; ἁμαρτάνω means 'to miss (hitting) something', and can be used metaphorically of intellectual activity. The pattern of misunderstanding an oracle followed by realisation of one's error is common in H. and validates his general beliefs about the inscrutability of the divine (Intr. §6c). It is ironic that Teisamenus, a descendant of Apollo from a famous family of seers, should misinterpret this oracle, yet it is often the case in H. that individuals misinterpret oracles given to them personally, and so-called experts fare no better: it was not the *chresmologoi* (professional interpreters

and expounders of oracles) who correctly interpreted the Delphic oracle about the wooden wall, but rather Themistocles (7.142–143).

προσεῖχε: sc. τὸν νοῦν 'was giving his attention'.

ὡς ἀναιρησόμενος 'thinking that he was going to win'; for ὡς giving the belief of a character see 4.2n. The misunderstanding of Teisamenus is possible because of the closeness of military and athletic language: 9.2n.

ἀσκέων δὲ πεντάεθλον: 'practising the pentathlon'. This consisted of five events: long jump, javelin, discus, running, and wrestling (see S. Miller 1991: 39–50). That he had the leisure to do this indicates that Teisamenus, like many military seers, came from an aristocratic background (see Pritchett, *GSAW* III.55). The Iamidae and Klytiadae in particular seem to have been very wealthy clans.

παρὰ ἓν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε νικᾶν ὀλυμπιάδα 'he came within one fall [in the wrestling] of winning an Olympic victory.' For this sense of παρά = 'by so much short of, so near to' see LSJ s.v. III.5.b. παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθε is a common idiom, and ἔδραμε is more dramatic. The event is likely to have occurred in the 74th Olympiad (484). Paus. (3.11.6) says that Teisamenus beat his opponent Hieronymus in running and jumping, implying that he lost in javelin and discus. It thus all came down to the wrestling, which was decided by the best of three falls; each had won a fall, so all depended on a single fall (ἓν πάλαισμα), the last (cf. HW 301).

Ἱερωνύμωι τῶι Ἀνδρίωι: Paus. saw his statue at Olympia (6.14.3).

ἐλθὼν ἐς ἔριν 'entering into competition'.

33.3 **ἀρηίους ἀγῶνας** 'contests of Ares', i.e. of war.

φέρον 'was referring' to, from the sense of 'was leading to' (Powell s.v. VIII.2).

μισθῶι . . . πείσαντες 'persuading by pay', functionally equivalent to 'bribing'; cf. 4.151.3, 8.134.1.

ποιέεσθαι ἅμα Ἡρακλειδέων τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων 'to make [Teisamenus] the leader in their wars, together with those of the Heraclids who were kings'. The genitive here is partitive, for although all the Spartan kings were Heraclids, not all Heraclids belonged to one of the two royal houses (e.g., Lysander, who was a Heraclid but not a king: Plut. *Lys.* 2). Since it was the prerogative of the kings at Sparta to command the army, the Spartan offer comes as something of a surprise; yet although the language here suggests a position tantamount to 'joint commander with their kings', Teisamenus is not depicted as having any role in marshalling the troops. He must be thought of as leader, therefore, in the

same way as Calchas, the seer for the Greeks at Troy, who 'led (ἡγήσατ') the ships of the Achaeans into the land of Ilium through that seercraft (μαντοσύνην) which Phoebus Apollo gave him' (*Il.* 1.71–2). This notion of 'leading' may go back to the Near East, since the Babylonian seer was likewise said to 'go in front of the army' (M. L. West 1997: 349). See also 35.1 n.

33.4 περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένους 'considering it of great importance'. For a variation on this idiom, 7.1 n.

ἀνετίμα 'began to raise his price', an inchoative imperfect (Smyth §1900).

τῶν πάντων: sc. τῶν γερῶν 'of all (citizen) privileges'.

ἐπ' ἄλλωι μισθῶι 'for any other payment'.

33.5 δεινὰ ἐποιεῦντο: cf. 5.2n.

καταίνεον μετιόντες 'they agreed, going after him'. The alternative reading μετιέντες, would mean, 'allowing it', but cf. 34.2, where the Argives 'go after' (ἤισαν) Melampous.

τετραμμένους σφέας 'that they had changed their minds', a common meaning of τρέφω in the passive; cf. 34.2 below.

ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἔτι 'but that it was necessary in addition'; for this sense of ἔτι see Powell s.v. II.3.

ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται 'on the same conditions as those on which he himself was becoming a citizen': for ὁ αὐτός ... καί = 'the same ... as', see *AGPS* §69.32.5.

34.1 ἐμιμέετο: H. sometimes explains a person's or a people's behaviour as imitation(s) of others, as, for example, when Cleisthenes of Athens reorders the Athenian tribes in imitation of his homonymous grandfather, the tyrant of Sicyon (5.67.1). At its most global, the belief can accommodate almost wholesale cultural transference, as it does in the case of Greece imitating Egypt in religious matters (2.104.4; cf. 1.176.3 for a different kind of national imitation).

Μελάμποδα: the archetypal seer, who acted as diviner, healer, and purifier; he is also the ancestor of the Klytiadae (see 33.1 n. and 7.221, where Megistias, the seer at Thermopylae, is said to be of the family of Melampous). H.'s account of Melampous does not have an exact parallel in earlier tradition. Homer says he ruled over many of the Argives (*Od.* 15.225–40), and his exploits were told in a (possibly) pre-Homeric Μελαμποδ(ε)ία, ascribed in antiquity to Hes. (FF 270–9 MW). In Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* (F 37 MW) Melampous receives a plot of land from the Argive king Proetus. Pherec. *FGrHist* 3 F 114 = *EGM* F 114 also narrates the story, but in his

version there is no bargaining: Melampous says he will cure the women for a price, Proetus offers a share in the rule (μέρος τῆς βασιλείας) and one of his daughters in marriage, and Melampous accepts. Because the fragment may contain an amalgam of Pherecydes and a later source (see Jacoby ad FF 33, 114), it is impossible to know whether H.'s account represents a reworking of the traditional story. See also 34.2n. Later sources, probably drawing on the *Melampodeia* and Hesiod's lost *Greater Ehoiai* (F 261), relate that he learned the language of birds when two snakes licked his ears, and that he obtained from Apollo the art of divination from sacrifices (cf. Apollod. 1.9.11 who alone mentions the agency of Apollo). H., however, seems to have discounted such stories: at 2.49 he says only that Melampous was a wise man who 'acquired the art of divination for himself' and that he introduced the Egyptian cult of Dionysus into Greece, having learned of it from Cadmus the Phoenician.

ὡς εἰκάσαι 'to make a guess'; for the verb cf. 17.4, 32.2, 45.2; for the absolute inf., 32.2n.

βασιληίην τε καὶ πολιτηίην αἰτεόμενος: 'in demanding kingship and citizenship', the former for himself, the latter for him and his brother. H. does not mean that he was literally asking to be made a king of Sparta. Since a seer was not usually a citizen of the polis that he served, Teisamenus, by demanding citizenship, was also demanding the functional equivalent of kingship, given that the Spartans had already offered to make him 'commander with their kings'. On the emendation αἰτεομένους, see Masaracchia ad loc.

καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μελάμπους: 'for it was also the case that Melampous'; on καὶ γὰρ δή see *GP* 243–4.

γυναικῶν μανεισέων: the reason is variously given, either refusal to accept Dionysus' rites (Hes. F 131 MW), or disparagement of an image of Hera (Acusilaus, *FGrHist* 2 F 28 = *EGM* F 28), or a boast that their father exceeded Zeus (Bacch. 11.44–56). Later writers add that Proetus' three daughters were the first to go mad (Apollod. 2.2.2; Diod. 2.68.4; Paus. 2.18.4). That seers had such a wide sphere of competence, including healing and purification, was certainly the case in the Archaic age (Burkert 1992: 42–73), and was still true (although perhaps to a lesser degree) in the 5th and 4th centuries (see Plato *Rep.* 364b–e and Hipp. *virg. morb.* 1, with G. E. R. Lloyd 1983: 69; *contra* Parker 1983: 207–34).

μιν . . . ἐμισθοῦντο 'were trying to hire him (for a price)'.

μισθὸν προετείνατο 'he proposed as his price'.

34.2 **ὑποστάντες** 'undertaking', i.e. 'agreeing to'.

δώσοντες 'ready to give'.

ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους: cf. 33.5 for the phrase; the echo links the two stories thematically.

τῶι ἀδελφεῶι Βίαντι: Melampous is closely allied with his brother. In Homer he procures a wife for Bias (*Od.* 15.237–9), while the more detailed account of Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 33 = *EGM* F 33) has Bias, wishing to marry Neleus' daughter Pero, ask for the assistance of his brother Melampous, who after various travails wins the woman for Bias.

ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινόν 'in dire straits', lit. 'driven into a narrow place'. The rare verb ἀπειλέω (LSJ s.v. (A)) is found only in the passive in H., and only in this type of construction: cf. 1.24.4 (ἀπειληθέντα... ἐς ἀπορίην), 8.109.2 (ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας).

35.1 **πάντως συνεχώρεόν οἱ**: it is possible that Teisamenus was actually given citizenship after the battle of Plataea as a reward for his services. It is then easy to imagine how the oral tradition about Teisamenus might have displaced the reward. In any case, the grant should precede the composition of Pind. *Ol.* 6 in 472 or 468; and see next n. but two.

σφι... συγκαταιρέει 'helps them [sc. the Spartiates] win'. Just as seers can 'lead' armies (33.3n.), so too they can be said to 'win' battles (in Eur.'s *Phoen.* 854–57, Teiresias claims the credit for winning a war). Paus. 3.11.5 records the tradition that Agias, the grandson of this Teisamenus, 'while acting as seer to Lysander captured (ἑλεῖν) the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami except for ten ships.'

μαντευόμενος 'serving as seer'.

μοῦνοι δὲ δὴ ... οὗτοι Σπαρτιήτηισι πολιῆται 'and alone of all men these became citizens with the Spartiates', the δή here emphasising the uniqueness ('absolutely the only ones') of the occurrence. Bicknell's suggestion (1982: 128) that we should read οὕτως for οὗτοι (since he claims the Spartans did give other citizenship grants) is unpersuasive, for in that case we would have wanted an initial οὕτως δή. The whole point of the story, including the mythical parallel, is the uniqueness of the grant. Indeed, the Spartans were especially parsimonious with grants of full citizenship (i.e. to Spartiate status) and we know of no further examples until the reforms of king Cleomenes III (*c.* 235–222) who granted citizenship to several thousand perioeci (Plut. *Cleom.* 11). The alleged grants to Tyrtaeus and Alcman are most probably inventions of the fourth century or later. Pindar claims at *Ol.* 6.28–30 (written for Hagesias of Syracuse, an Iamid who served

as seer to the tyrant Hieron), that Iamus, the son of Apollo, was also the grandson of Poseidon by the nymph Pitana. Since Pitana was the name of one of the five Spartan villages (cf. 53.2n.), it is quite likely (as suggested by Wilamowitz 1886: 162–85; cf. Luraghi 1997) that this Spartan origin of the Iamidae was an invention of Teisamenus himself (or, just possibly, of Pindar) in order to validate his acquisition of citizenship. The Iamidae had a long and successful career at Sparta, and inscriptional records show that the family (or at least those who claimed descent from Teisamenus) acted as seers at Sparta until at least the 2nd c. AD (Parke 1967: 177). Paus. (3.12.8) saw their family tomb there.

35.2 οἱ δὲ πέντε ἀγῶνες: the five battles are Plataea, Tegea, Dipaea (or Dipaeis), Mt. Ithome (possibly: see next n. but one), and Tanagra. The battles at Tegea (*c.* 473–470) and Dipaea (*c.* 470–465) testify to an anti-Spartan movement in the Peloponnese (see Andrewes 1952; Forrest 1960; Cartledge 1979: 214–16). The devastating earthquake and consequent massive helot revolt of 465 are possibly the background for the fourth contest (see below). Tegea, Dipaea, and Mt. Ithome are among the 'domestic wars' which Thuc. says (1.118.2) partially prevented the Spartans from checking the growth of Athenian power in the period between 479 and 432 BC. The last of the five contests, the battle of Tanagra in Boeotia, took place in 458 or 457 (Thuc. 1.107–8). The effect of this prolepsis (Intr. §2) is to emphasise, however subtly, that Greeks fighting Greeks is going to be the theme of future conflicts (see Cobet 1971; Stadter 1992: 801–2; Pelling 1997a). In this regard, it is important to note that only Teisamenus' first victory is against barbarians; the rest are victories by Sparta against other Greeks, including Athens.

ἐπὶ δὲ 'and after that', ἐπί here can also mean 'in addition'.

ὁ †Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰσθμῶι†: modern editors are nearly unanimous in adopting Paulmier's conjecture Ἰθώμηι for the MSS Ἰσθμῶι, referring it to the war of the Spartans against the Messenians on Mt. Ithome, narrated by Thuc. 1.101–3. Ἰσθμῶι has generally been rejected because there is no other attestation of a battle there, and it is, in any case, an unlikely place for Messenians to fight Spartans. Nor can one assume (*pace* Stein) that there was a town in Messenia called Isthmus simply because Paus. 4.3.10 mentions a legendary Messenian king named Isthmius, or (*pace* Cartledge 1979: 219) that this Isthmus is likely to be the Skala ridge stretching from Ithome to Taygetus. For in either case, the reference to some otherwise unattested location in Messenia would be extremely obscure even for a

Greek audience. Moreover, in terms of H.'s usage the Isthmus in question can only be that of Corinth (also referred to without the definite article at 27.2 and 81.1). Ἰθώμηι, therefore, has certain attractions, and if it did indeed originally stand in the text, it would be easy to see how it was corrupted, since the name appears nowhere else in H. whereas the Isthmus of Corinth looms large, especially in Book 9 up to this point.

Yet Paulmier's conjecture is not without its own problems, and only Legrand seems to have noticed that ὁ Μεσσηνίων [sc. ἀγών] can hardly mean 'the war *against* the Messenians'. A genitive can indicate the combatants in a war, e.g., ὁ πόλεμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Πελοποννησίων, such that the phrase here would mean 'the contest in which the Messenians took part' or 'the contest on the part of the Messenians'. What it does not mean is 'the battle against the Messenians' which the context clearly requires. Legrand's suggestion that it was perhaps a genitive going with Ἰσθμῶι ('the Isthmus of the Messenians') is not much better (as even he realised), and makes for the same kind of obscurity as that noted above. In addition, the grammatical structure of the other *agones* of Teisamenus is always in the form ὁ + {ἐν + dative for the place where} + {πρός + accusative for the opponents of the Spartans}; the only variation occurs in the first where the opponents are omitted because they are easily understood. Perhaps we originally had something like ὁ ἐν τῆι Ἰθώμηι πρὸς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, but if so, the MSS reading is difficult to explain on palaeographic grounds.

Paus. also refers to Teisamenus' five contests, but his text is of no help here: the fact that he seems to have read 'Isthmus' in his copy of H. shows only that the corruption was an old one: his peculiar reference to this contest (τέταρτον δὲ ἠγωνίσαντο πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ ⟨ἐς⟩ Ἰθώμην ἀποστάντας τῶν εἱλώτων 3.11.8) looks like an attempt to reconcile H. with other sources. Paus., however, does add an interesting detail not mentioned elsewhere, namely that the Spartans allowed the Messenians to depart under truce, 'being persuaded by Teisamenus and the Delphic oracle' (cf. Thuc. 1.103.1–2 who mentions the oracle but not Teisamenus). This raises the question whether Teisamenus' role in correctly interpreting the oracle would count as a famous victory: it well might have since Diod. implies that there was more to this 'contest' than either Paus. or Thuc. reveals; for he states that the rebel Messenians were actually defeated ('at that time the Lacedaemonians having prevailed over (κρατήσαντες) both the helots and the Messenians', 11.84.8). In the end, however, no firm conclusions are possible.

36 The prophecy of Teisamenus

Teisamenus tells the Greeks that the omens are bad if they attack, good if they defend themselves. Not surprisingly, given the importance of this particular prophecy (which turns out to be true), scholars have suggested that this 'prophecy' was somehow manipulated for the occasion. It is true that seercraft, by its very nature, was liable to subconscious manipulation, but that is far from saying that seers merely saw what they wanted to see. For instance, if the victim's liver lacked a lobe, that was a definite indication of disaster. Nonetheless, there was considerable scope for interpretation in reading the signs. Even when books on divination were in circulation (33.1 n.), they cannot possibly have described every possible combination of markings, colour, and shape that any particular organ might display. No two livers, in fact, are exactly alike (Pritchett, *GSAW* III.77). So a seer such as Teisamenus or Hegesistratus had to have an understanding of the strategic situation as well as confidence in his own divinatory skill and training. Nevertheless, Pausanias held the supreme command and as general it was up to him to decide when and how often his seer would sacrifice. And no matter what the results of those sacrifices were, the ultimate decision of when and where to attack resided with the general. As Plato put it, 'the law enjoins that the general rules the seer and not the seer the general' (*Laches* 199a). Yet the Greeks believed that the gods had good strategic sense and that they communicated with men by means of signs (cf. Xen. *Eq. mag.* 9.8–9). So any general who disregarded the omens and the advice of his seer did so at his own peril. Simon. F 14 (see App. A) may refer to the prophecy of Teisamenus.

36 οὗτος δὴ . . . ὁ Τεισάμενος 'it was *this* Teisamenus'.

τὰ ἱρὰ 'signs' or 'omens'. In a sacrificial context the words may mean (1) 'rites' (broadly speaking); (2) the particular parts of the sacrificial victim which are examined for signs; or (3) the signs themselves which emerge from examination (Jameson 1991: 200–1). The difference between (2) and (3) is often blurred. ἱρά were performed in camp before setting out, and differ from the battle-line σφάγια (41.4n.).

ἀμυνομένοισι: conditional: 'if they should be defending themselves', i.e., as long as they were not the aggressors (as the second clause explains). This does not mean that success or victory was guaranteed for the side that remained on the defensive. Such sacrifices 'were intended to find out whether the movement towards an engagement with the enemy should

proceed' (Jameson 1991: 205; cf. Nock 1972: 542). In other words, the gods were indicating their will, but were not *promising* victory if their will was followed (Plut. *Arist.* 15.1 and 18.2 misunderstands this). Even if Pausanias followed his seer's advice, it was still possible for him to lose the battle if he made some strategic or tactical blunder. Xenophon claims (*An.* 1.8.15) that at the battle of Cunaxa in 401 he was told by Cyrus himself that καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια καλά; yet despite the fact that Cyrus was killed (due to the disobedience of Clearchus and Cyrus' own impetuosity), Xen. remained a believer in the validity of sacrificial divination (cf. *An.* 6.4.13–27; *Eq. mag.* 9.8–9).

37–38.1 Hegesistratus

The diviner for the Persians is now introduced, accompanied (as with the personal history of Teisamenus) by an extraordinary story. H. says he performed 'a deed bravest of all those we know' (37.2), i.e., mutilating himself to escape a Spartan prison and then marching over thirty miles largely by night with his self-inflicted wound in order to make his way safely to Tegea. Since the actions of Hegesistratus do not play a role in the succeeding narrative, we might expect that his personal history would not have great thematic resonance or importance for the story, and to a certain extent this is true. It is more the case, however, that Teisamenus' opposite number needs to be a worthy opponent so as to emphasise that this was a serious conflict. At the same time he is portrayed as reacting in a different way to the demands of war: for Hegesistratus, at the hour of extreme peril, and in contrast to the Greeks who 'took the better cause' (19.1), was motivated by hatred and greed (38.1).

37.1 καὶ γὰρ οὗτος . . . ἐχρᾶτο 'for he too was using'; the καί goes closely with οὗτος. This information comes as something of a surprise, given that H. has told us that the Persians do not sacrifice as the Greeks do (1.132.1–3); yet at 8.133 H. tells us that Mardonius sent around to the Greek oracles to learn something about his present situation (see below 42.3n.), so his employment of Greek religion is not wholly unexpected. Nevertheless, JM thinks that it is somewhat suspicious that Hegesistratus' omens are dismissed by Mardonius (41.4), and thus have no effect on the action; and he suspects that the seer is introduced here to explain Persian delay in attacking and (especially) so that H. can narrate his extraordinary tale. MAF, however, believes that Mardonius employed a Greek seer in order to seem to win the

favour and support of the local Greek gods (as suggested by Roth 1982: 156 n.41). It was not really necessary for him to satisfy the religious sensibilities of his Greek allies, since these Greeks had their own seer, Hippomachus of Leucas (38.2n.); yet he may have felt the need to establish his authority in the religious sphere by hiring a more famous seer than his allies could afford.

Ἡγησίστρατον: lit. 'leader of the army'; for the homonymous Greek at Mycale, see 90.1 n. Immerwahr 1966: 294–5 improbably suggests that seers may have been chosen for their names, but this is unlikely in view of H.'s own account of how Teisamenus and Hegesistratus came to serve at Plataea.

τῶν Τελλιαδέων: the Telliadae were no doubt another mantic family, separate from the Iamidae (33.1 n.). The seer Tellias who appears at 8.27 in the Phocians' service, and whose strategic sagacity saved his employers, will have been their founder or simply an earlier member. Apart from Philostratus' mention of them in connection with the Iamidae and Klytiadae (*vita Apollonii* 5.25), nothing more is known of them.

ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτωι 'they bound him with a view to putting him to death'; for ἐπί + dat. to indicate purpose, Smyth §1689, 2c.

ὡς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὑπ' αὐτοῦ 'on the grounds that they had suffered at his hands many dreadful things'; for the expression cf. 1.114.5, 3.74.1, 5.89.3. The sense of agency in ὑπ' αὐτοῦ suggests that Hegesistratus not only successfully predicted the outcome of events, but in some sense also caused them to turn out in the way that they did. This should not, however, be pressed to mean that a *mantis* was expected to work success for his clients by magical means (*contra* Halliday 1913: 95–8; Roth 1982: 124–70), since in systems of divination the distinction between predicting the future and causing the future is sometimes left vague.

37.2 ὥστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς 'seeing that he was in a race for his life', i.e., seeing that it was a matter of life and death; ὥστε here = ἅτε, 'in as much as', stating 'the cause as a fact on the authority of the speaker or writer' (Smyth §2085). For 'running for one's life', cf. 7.57.1, and (literally) *Il.* 22.161; Ar. *Wasps* 376–7.

πεισόμενος πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά 'he would suffer many tortures'; see 37.1 n. for a parallel expression.

μέζον λόγου 'greater than one could describe'; λόγος here has the common meaning in H. of a descriptive account (see examples at Powell,

s.v. 4); similarly Egypt furnishes ἔργα λόγου μέζω (2.35.1) and the labyrinth is also λόγου μέζω (2.148.1).

ἐν ξύλωι σιδηροδέτωι 'in a wooden stock rimmed with iron'; as becomes clear from the story, only one of Hegesistratus' legs is bound.

ἐσενειχθέντος κως σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε 'he got hold of an iron implement that had somehow or other been carried in (sc. to where he was being held).'

ἀνδρηιότατον . . . πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν: the adjective emphasises the sheer physical bravery of Hegesistratus; πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν is not simply 'a mere formula' (Macan), but rather marks out the action from all other actions of the same type; for similar emphasis see 64.1. H. uses οἶδα of events for which he believes he has a reliable recent record: see Shimron 1973.

ὅκως . . . ποδός 'how the rest of his foot might get free (lit. 'come out').'

ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν ἑωυτοῦ: the ταρσός is the flat of the foot from the toes to the heel; in light of the previous clause, Hegesistratus must be measuring (σταθμησάμενος) how far from the toes he should cut in order to wriggle the rest of the foot free. Two physicians have confirmed for us that Hegesistratus could have survived and not bled to death before reaching Tegea.

37.3 ὥστε φυλασσόμενος: ὥστε again = ἅτε (37.2n).

οὕτω ὥστε . . . γενέσθαι 'to such an extent . . . that he was'; οὕτω refers to the entire previous clause, not just a single word: see *MT* §593; cf. 61.3, 67, 73.3, 118.1. H. uses the infinitive after ὥστε even for actual result (cf. 61.1, 61.3, 73.3); this is not so unusual, since the construction for natural result often implies that an action really does follow; see *MT* §587.

τρίτηι εὐφρόνηι 'on the third night', i.e., two nights after he escaped (as usual in Greek inclusive counting). The euphemism εὐφρόνη ('the kindly time') is a poetic word much favoured by H. The distance from Sparta to Tegea is about 30 miles, mostly uphill, and Hegesistratus will have had to take a circuitous route to avoid the Spartans, so the distance may have been even greater.

37.4 τότε μέν: contrasted with τέλος δέ.

οὐκ ἀρθμίην: we have no other record of hostility between Sparta and Tegea immediately preceding the Persian invasions. It is interesting that this reference looks backwards in time, while the notice at 35.2 looks forward to a future clash, and together they add a crucial extra perspective on Greek inter-state rivalry (Intr. §2).

κατεστήκεε 'he became'; the pf. of καθίστημι is regularly intransitive (LSJ. s.v. B.5); for a similar expression cf. 1 87.3. It is clear, however, from 37.1 that Hegesistratus was already hostile to the Spartans, so he cannot now have *become* hostile: it must be the case, therefore, that the emphasis is on ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης (next n.), i.e., he now became *openly* the enemy of the Spartans, whereas before it was merely a matter of Spartan suspicion.

ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης: sc. ὁδοῦ or τέχνης 'by the straight road', i.e., 'openly'; cf. 57.1n.

οὐ μέντοι . . . συγκεκρημένον 'in the end, however, the hatred that he had formed against the Lacedaemonians did not profit him.' This is another example of Solon's injunction (1.32.9) to 'look to the end' (cf. 76–82n.). For συνήνεικε in the sense of 'turn out well' see 8.87 2 and cf. τὰ συμφέροντα above, 16.2. Although Reiske's emendation is universally accepted, συγκεράννυμι elsewhere in H. is used of φιλία, not ἔχθος (4.152.5, 7.151), and the sense of 'mixing together' is more suitable for the former than the latter.

μαντευόμενος ἐν Ζακύνθωι: neither the date nor the circumstances of Hegesistratus' capture are known

ἀπέθανε 'was put to death' (sc. ὑπὸ αὐτῶν), a common meaning of ἀποθνήισκω (Powell s.v. 3).

38.1 τῶν Πλαταιικῶν 'events at Plataea'; cf. 2.145.4, τὰ Τρωικά.

Μαρδονίωι: dat. of agent with μεμισθωμένος.

οὐκ ὀλίγου: sc. ἀργυρίου 'at a high price'; gen. of value (Smyth §1372).

τὸ κέρδος. 'profit' or 'greed', placed emphatically at the end of the sentence for its pejorative sting. Accusations of greed are commonly levelled against seers in Greek literature (Morrison 1981: 106–7; Smith 1989), e.g., Oedipus on Teiresias, 'he has sight only when it comes to profit (ἐν τοῖς κέρδεσιν), but in his art is blind' (Soph. *OT* 388–9); cf. Soph. *Antig.* 1055; Eur. *Bacch.* 255–7. But note Parker's important point: 'anthropology teaches that societies which depend on seers also regularly deride them' (*OCD*[3] 488).

38.2–40 Persians capture the Greek baggage train

38.2 ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε: Xen. (*An.* 6.4.16, 19) implies that one could sacrifice only up to three times each day, and this seems to have been standard for Babylonian and Assyrian priests (see Pritchett, *GSAW* III.77). We do not know if Hegesistratus was working under a similar restriction,

since Greek religion did not have the sort of fixed rules that one finds in 'book' religions (see Finley 1985: xiv–xv).

ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν: cf. 17.2n.

Ἱππόμαχον: otherwise unknown. The fact that the medising Greeks felt the need to employ their own *mantis* underscores the importance of military divination.

ἐπιρρεόντων . . . τῶν Ἑλλήνων 'while the Greeks came streaming in', sc. to the camp; the verb is used only in this chapter by H.; cf. *Il.* 11.724 τὰ δ' ἐπέρρεον ἔθνεα πεζῶν.

ἀπολάμψοιτο: whereas the indicative ἐπιρρέουσι marks an event actually going on, the optative is used here to indicate the potentiality open to Mardonius ('he might catch'); the potential optative without ἄν is rare, however, and largely confined to Homer and tragedy (Smyth §1821; *MT* §§240–2).

39.1 ἡμέραι . . . ὀκτώ: Mardonius attempted to get favourable omens for six days (the omens were first taken on the second day of the second position), during which time neither army took any significant action.

μαθὼν τὴν παραίνεσιν εὖ ἔχουσαν 'thinking the advice to be well given' (lit. 'holding well').

τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς Κιθαιρωνίδας: probably what is now called the Gyphtokastro pass, which was the main road from Athens to Thebes (see Hignett 422–4, Lazenby 229; *contra* Pritchett 1957: 16–21; 1965: 119–21). This was also the route by which Pausanias had descended into the Boeotian plain at 19.3.

αἳ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι 'which lead towards Plataea'; for φέρω in this sense, Powell s.v. II.1.

39.2 ἐσβάλλοντα . . . ἐς τὸ πεδίον 'as they were coming into the plain'. There was an interval of two miles between the Greek position on the Asopus and the foothills of Mt. Cithaeron.

ἀνθρώπους: not ἄνδρες, presumably, because they are either slaves or helots.

ἄγρην: a word associated with the hunt, it refers either to the activity itself or to the result, the prey or capture. H. seems to be the first to use it of humans (for earlier writers see *LfgrE* s.v.), and it here marks the easy nature of the Persian capture of these Greeks and their merciless treatment of them.

φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζυγίου . . . ἀνθρώπου 'sparing not a single pack-animal or man'; H. here emphasises Persian savagery and the consequences

of Timagenides' perfidy towards the Greeks (cf. 86.1). Killing the men was not particularly surprising, but destroying the pack-animals was senseless if, as Alexander of Macedon later claims (45.2n.), the Persians were short of supplies.

ἅδην εἶχον κτείνοντες 'they had their fill of killing'. ἅδην, only here in H., is a rare word, but does appear in Hom.: see *Il.* 5.203, 13.315, 19.423.

ἤλαυνον περιβαλόμενοι 'they took possession of and drove'. περιβάλλω means 'to encircle', i.e., the Persians are surrounding what is left of the convoy to drive it off to their camp.

40 οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχης ἄρξαι: it is clear from the next three sentences that this formulation does not include the continual harassing of the Greek line by the Persian cavalry. H. does not say when that harassment began, but it would not be inconsistent with his narrative that the cavalry attacks began as soon as both sides had taken up their positions on either side of the Asopus

οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι . . . ἀρετάς: this sentence is, in effect, doubly damning. On the one hand, H. portrays the Thebans as wholeheartedly medising and thus seems to refute those Thebans (see, e.g., Thuc. 3.62 3–4) who later claimed that a small ruling clique was responsible for the city's actions in 480–479 (cf. Buck 1979: 128–35 and below, 67n., 86–87n.); on the other hand, the Thebans are portrayed as much less courageous than the Persians and Medes.

ἅτε μηδίζοντες μεγάλως 'in as much as they greatly took the Persian side'; for ἅτε cf. 37.2n.

προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον 'were eagerly prosecuting the war'.

κατηγέοντο 'were leading the way'; cf. 7 130.1, οἱ κατηγεόμενοι ('the guides').

μέχρι μάχης 'up to the point of attack'; probably both temporally and spatially. The Thebans led them up to the moment and to the physical place of actual combat. μάχη here obviously does not have the sense of full-scale battle, as it does just above.

τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου: 'the subsequent action', lit. 'the thing from this'.

μάλα ἔσκον οἱ 'were really the ones who'; this iterative form of εἰμί, which brings out vividly the repeated action, is rare in H. (elsewhere only 1.196.2 *bis* and 4.129.3). μάλα has been variously explained and there seems no precedent for its use with εἰμί; the sense is probably 'actually' (see *LfgrE* s.v., esp. 4), and the remark thus contributes to the negative characterisation of the Thebans (but cf. 67n.)

ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετάς: the same phrase used of the Lycians at 1.176.1. The plural ἀρετάς is used because many men displayed their valour on repeated occasions.

41 *Conference between Mardonius and Artabazus*

H. uses this scene both to articulate the alternative strategies available to the Persians and to contrast the sagacious and cautious Artabazus (a typical Herodotean wise advisor: Intr. §2) with the rash and overconfident Mardonius. Although it is just possible that Artabazus' descendants, who served as satraps of Dascylium in Hellespontine Phrygia throughout the 5th and 4th centuries, provided H. with a favourable version of their ancestor's role at Plataea (HW 276–7), H. has, in any case, constructed speeches that contribute to the characterisation of the main antagonists, while emphasising those themes most important to him (cf. Intr. §6). By ignoring the omens, Mardonius will put himself in the wrong (see 41.4n.). Although the particulars differ, this scene has a thematic resemblance to two scenes in the *Il.*, both involving Hector and Poulydamas: in the earlier one, Hector disregards Poulydamas' counsel not to attack the Achaean ships because of the portent of an eagle being bitten by a snake and then dropping it amidst the Trojans (*Il.* 12.200–50). In a later debate, Hector ignores Poulydamas' advice to withdraw within their walls and not fight in the plain with the Achaeans (18.243–313). Both Mardonius and Hector are too headstrong and stubborn to listen to sound counsel and their eagerness for a pitched battle proves their undoing. The belief that disaster falls upon those who ignore omens goes back at least to the Babylonian epic *Naram-Sin and the Enemy Hordes* (8th–7th c.), in which Naram-Sin, King of Akkade, decides to attack the enemy hordes who are ravaging the Near East. He inquires of seven gods by means of extispicy, but when the omens continue to be unfavourable, he arrogantly decides to ignore them and attacks; his armies are wiped out to a man three years in a row (Westenholz 1997: 316–19, standard Babylonian recension, lines 72–87).

41.1 περιημέκτεε 'was exceedingly annoyed'; the verb occurs only in H.; even the simple form ἠμεκτέω is rare.

τῆι ἕδρηι: meaning 'seat' or 'station', the sense here is 'standoff', i.e., lack of movement on either side, rather than 'delay' (Powell).

ἐς λόγους ἦλθον: a regular phrase in H. for 'converse' or 'have a conference': see 44.2 below and for other examples Powell, s.v. ἔρχομαι 4.

Μαρδόνιος . . . ὁ Γοβρύεω καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος: both characters have been introduced before (6.43.1 and 7.66.2, respectively) with patronymics, and of course Mardonius has been mentioned throughout this book. The formal introduction here before an important speech can be paralleled from Thuc., who likewise gives patronymics for characters previously introduced (see Griffith 1961). Perhaps the use of patronymics in Hom. lies behind the practice.

ἐν ὀλίγοισι . . . ἀνὴρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρξῃ 'a man esteemed by Xerxes as few were'. The Persepolis tablets have revealed that Pharnaces (Parnaka) was the uncle of Darius, and one of the highest Persian officials at the end of the 6th c. (Brosius 140–3, with her comm. ad loc.). Artabazus was thus, like Mardonius, a cousin of Xerxes, and this gave him the social position to argue so openly with Mardonius (see Lewis 1997: 359).

41.2 ἀναζεύξαντας· ἀναζεύγνυμι = 'to yoke or harness again', whence it comes to mean 'break up' a camp or 'move off' an army: cf. 58.3 below.

τὴν ταχίστην: sc. ὁδόν 'by the quickest way', i.e. 'most quickly', cf. 66.3.

ἰέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Θηβαίων: this can only mean 'to go inside the walls' and cannot be construed as taking up a position near Thebes, which was less than 10 kilometres away (*contra* HW 306; Hignett 315). It is extraordinary if H. really thought that this was a viable plan, especially given his figure of 300,000 for the Asiatic army. In 479 the wall of Thebes enclosed an area of only about 25 hectares, enough to accommodate 10,000 people at most. (The outer circuit of wall, 7,000 metres long, was large enough for a much greater number (perhaps 100,000), but was probably not constructed until the second half of the 5th c. (see Symeonoglou 1985: 117–22).) The experience of Athens during the Archidamian War should have been enough to reveal the fallacy of Artabazus' plan: although Athens was connected to the port city of Piraeus by the Long Walls, she could not adequately contain a citizen population of some 300,000 (Thuc. 2.14–17).

ἔνθα . . . ἐσενηνεῖχθαι: the infinitive is dependent on an assumed verb of saying: 'where (he said) food had been brought in, etc.' H. leaves the argument as Artabazus' claim, not something he independently validates.

κατ' ἡσυχίην: lit. 'at leisure', the sense is more 'unmolested', 'with no one/nothing to bother them'; cf. 7.208.3; for the lack of aspiration, Intr. §7.A.1.

διαπρήσσεσθαι 'accomplish their goal' (LSJ s.v. II).

41.3 ἔχειν . . . διαπέμπειν: the first infinitive is dependent on an assumed verb of saying ('he said they had . . . '), while the second follows from ποιεῦντας, the infinitive here representing a subjunctive or imperative 'let them send around . . . '. For an infinitive after a verb of saying doing duty for a command, see *MT* §99.

διαπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας: the Thebans had already given this advice at the beginning of the campaigning season (2.3 n.); it seems rather late in the day for this plan now to have the desired effect.

τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἐν τῇσι πόλισι 'the foremost men in (each of) the cities'.

σφέας: the Hellenes.

μηδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας 'and not run a risk by engaging in battle': see 26.3n.

41.4 τούτου . . . ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαίων: for ἡ αὐτή . . . καί = 'the same as' cf. 33.5n. Mention of the Thebans does not necessarily imply that they spoke at this conference. Mardonius already knew their opinion (2.1–3).

ὡς προειδότος πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου 'on the grounds that he [sc. Artabazus] too [in addition to the Thebans] knew something more'. Cf. the earlier prediction of the unnamed Persian who also 'knew beforehand' (προειδώς, 16.2) the imminent destruction of the Persian army (16.2–4nn.).

ἀγνωμονεστέρη: a hapax in H., ἀγνώμων is lit. 'without γνώμη', that is, lacking sense or judgement. Pind. *Ol.* 8.59–60 links this lack of judgement with lack of forethought. More importantly, the word is related to ἀγνωμοσύνη, a characteristic of which Mardonius himself had formerly accused the Greeks and Athenians (4.2 with n.), and which is a hallmark of his own character in this Book (3.1 n.).

συγγινωσκομένη: given its meaning at 7.13.2 and below (122.4, with n.), the sense of συγγινώσκω here must be 'yielding'.

τὴν σφετέρην στρατιήν 'their own army'; for σφετέρην cf. Intr. §7.D.4.

συμβάλλειν: in its absolute sense (13.3n.), with the infinitive for a subjunctive or imperative ('let them attack', cf. 41.3n.).

μηδὲ περιορᾶν συλλεγομένους . . . συλλελεγμένων 'and not allow those assembling to become greater than those who had already assembled': the reference is to the Greeks streaming through Cithaeron (38.2).

τά . . . σφάγια . . . ἐᾶν χαίρειν 'to disregard the omens', lit. 'to permit the sacrifices to take their leave'; for this common idiom (an extension from χαῖρε as a term for 'goodbye') see 4.112 and below, 45.2; further examples

at LSJ s.v. χαίρω III.2.c. τὰ σφάγια are technically the battle-line sacrifices which were performed only when the two opposing armies were on the point of engaging. The sacrifice, which was both propitiatory and divinatory in purpose, entailed slitting the throat (σφάζειν = 'to cut the throat') of the sacrificial victim (for the Lacedaemonians a young she-goat), and observing the way in which the blood flowed and the animal fell; if the omens were favourable, the phalanx then advanced against the enemy (Xen. *Lac.* 13.8; Plut. *Lyc.* 22; Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.20; Thuc. 6.69.2; with Pritchett, *GSAW* III.83–90 and Jameson 1991). Here and at 45.2 we have σφάγια instead of ἱρά, possibly because Mardonius as a Persian does not know (or care about) the difference: or H. himself is using the terms loosely; or because the Persian's 'purpose is so single-minded, directed only to moving to an engagement, that H. uses the language of that final rite' (Jameson 1991: 208). Mardonius' decision to ignore the omens leads him to act impiously just as when Tydeus ignores the *sphagia* of the seer Amphiaraus in Aesch.'s *Seven against Thebes* (377–83). His action here provides a parallel to the more egregious impiety of Xerxes, who whipped and branded the Hellespont (7.35.1) and burned Greek temples (8.53, cf. 8.109.3), as well as an explanation on the religious level for Mardonius' defeat and death (Intr. §§3, 6c).

βιάζεσθαι 'to force them', i.e. to be favourable. It is unclear whether one would do this by sacrificing victim after victim (which might irritate the gods) or by pretending that the signs were favourable when they in fact were not. In Mesopotamia, as in Greece, omens portending some evil could be obviated by apotropaic rituals (Oppenheim 1974: 212; Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.4), but that seems to be different from 'forcing' them to be propitious for a particular venture.

νόμωι τῶι Περσέων: in his list of Persian customs (1.131–140) H. mentions nothing about sacrifice before battle, so probably no specific custom is here meant. Mardonius seems rather to assert the Persian νόμος of imperialism, which, as Xerxes said earlier (7.8α.1–2), has always benefitted them: it is thus the Persians' way to attack, not to wait for their enemies to make a move. Given the pervasiveness of sacrificial divination in the ancient Near East, it would be odd if the Persians did not perform some rites before battle, although it must be admitted that evidence for divinatory practices among the Magi (who were Medes, not Persians) of the classical period is meagre (Duchesne-Guillemin 1968; de Jong 1997: 396–9); in H. their role is to interpret dreams (e.g. 7.19) or celestial phenomena (7.37); but cf. 1.132.3 for their presence at sacrifices.

42–43 Mardonius inquires about oracles

42.1 ἀντέλεγε οὐδείς: since this is a conference between Artabazus and Mardonius, one wonders who might have spoken in opposition: perhaps H. is amalgamating this conference with the next where Mardonius calls together the company commanders.

ἐκράτεε τῆι γνώμηι 'he prevailed in opinion', whereas English would say 'his opinion prevailed'; the dative is instrumental.

ἀλλ' οὐκ 'and not'; cf. 43.1.

εἴ τι εἰδεῖεν λόγιον 'if they knew any prophecy'; the neuter of λόγιος with the article is often used in H. to mean any sort of prophecy including oracles (τοὺς χρησμούς in the next sentence).

διαφθερέονται 'they will utterly perish', H. moving from the optative (εἰδεῖεν) to the vivid future for this prophecy.

42.2 τῶν δὲ εἰδότων: H. envisions a world in which oracles continually circulated, everyone had access to them, and everyone had the freedom to recite them and to deem them applicable to a particular situation (Maurizio 1997: 328).

ἐν ἀδείηι δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν: 'not considering it safe to speak': for ποιευμένων = 'consider' cf. 5.2n. Noisy Greek debate about the meaning of an oracle (cf. the debate at Athens about the wooden wall oracle: 7.141–143) is here replaced by the stony silence of the Persians (and of the generals of the medising Greeks); yet the positions of Greek and Persian are sometimes reversed: Pelling 1997a; Intr. §6b.

ὑμεῖς ἢ ἴστε οὐδὲν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν: the tone is sarcastic, as is always the case when Mardonius speaks in this book; so too ἤδεσθε below: cf. 48 and 51.

ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐρέω 'well then I will tell you': for ἀλλά in apodoses see *GP* 9–12; it is common in Hom.

42.3 ὡς χρεόν ἐστι: an appropriate phrase given the necessity for the gods' will to be done: Intr. §6c.

τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενοι: ironic; see next n.

οὔτε ἴμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὔτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάζειν: H. has narrated in the previous year (480) a Persian attack on Delphi and a series of miraculous actions by the gods to defend their own sanctuaries (8.35–39). Thus Mardonius' words come as something of a surprise. Although they might be in contradiction with that earlier passage (HW 306–7), it is also possible to explain them by assuming that since the Persians had failed

to plunder Delphi at that time, Mardonius is here saying, in effect, that they will not try again. Perhaps we are meant to imagine that Mardonius learned of this prediction during the winter of 480/79 when he sent the Carian Mys of Europus to consult as many oracles as possible (8.133). In that case the earlier failure might actually have boosted his confidence in victory. A different line of interpretation is to assume that, in terms of the story's dramatic necessity, Mardonius must not know of the expedition against Delphi (whether or not it really took place), and thus his words are unconsciously ironic. Indeed, in view of H.'s characterisation of Mardonius' γνώμη as οὐδαμῶς συγγινωσκομένη (41.4n.), the assurance with which Mardonius here speaks is especially full of foreboding, for it is clear that he does not know the situation at all.

42.4 ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων. again ironic; cf. the Athenians' boast at 27.5. Mardonius here forces the meaning of the oracle, since it does not say anything about a Persian victory.

δεύτερα ἐσήμηνε 'a second time he gave orders', though strictly speaking he has not done this until now, since in 42.1 H. says merely that he summoned and questioned the commanders.

εὐκρινέα 'in good order', lit. 'well separated', so that they could more easily be ordered by their commanders.

ὡς . . . συμβολῆς ἐσομένης: for ὡς + gen. absolute see 4.2n. συμβολή here = 'engagement'; cf. συμβάλλειν (41.4n.).

43.1 τοῦτον δ' ἔγωγε τὸν χρησμόν . . . οἶδα: on H.'s view of oracles see Intr. §6c; for οἶδα see below.

ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν 'to refer to the Persians' (Powell, s.v. ἔχω, B.3b).

ἐς . . . πεποιημένον 'made in reference to'

ἐς Ἰλλυριούς: the Illyrians 'occupy the region beyond Macedonia and Thrace from Chaonia and Thesprotia to the river Danube' (Appian *Ill.* 1); their settlements bordered on Macedonia, Epirus, and the Greek cities of the Adriatic: see Wilkes 1992.

καί 'and more specifically' (LSJ s.v., A.2).

τὸν Ἐγχελέων στρατόν: the Encheleans were a tribe of the Illyrians, whose eponymous ancestor, Encheleus (Ἐγχελεύς), was said to be one of six sons of Illyrius (who in turn was, according to the tradition, a son of Polyphemus the Cyclops and Galatea). H. says that the Encheleans were the tribe to which the Cadmaeans (27.3n.) fled when driven from Thebes by the Argives (5.61.2, Paus. 9.5.3 says that Cadmus himself retired amongst the Encheleans; cf. Apollod. 3.5.4). The story to which H. alludes here – that

the Encheleans plundered Delphi and were destroyed – is recounted by Dionysus at the end of Eur.'s *Bacchae* (1336–8). Pherec. *FGrHist* 3 F 41e (= *EGM* F 41c) connected the oracle with a different expedition, that of the Phlegyes against Thebes. The fact that the oracle was known before H. and the possibility that others had interpreted it differently may account for the strong emphasis of οἶδα, and may explain why H. does not quote the oracle. For more on the tradition about Cadmus amongst the Encheleans, see *LIMC* v.1, 864–5.

ἀλλ' οὐκ 'and not'; cf. 42.1.

τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι: sc. ἔπη. Bacis was a Boeotian prophet of the archaic age, to whom oracles of manifestly different dates were attributed: see Graf, *OCD*[3] s.v.; Burkert 1985: 116–17. H. had previously quoted his prophecies about Salamis (8.20, 77, cf. 96).

43.2 τὴν δ': H. has perhaps quoted this extract out of context, since no verb governs σύνοδον καὶ ἰυγήν.

Ἀσωπῷι λεχεποίηι: Homeric, cf. *Il.* 4.383; 'grassy' refers not to the river itself, but to the banks and meadows surrounding it.

βαρβαρόφωνον ἰυγήν: the ἰυγή (a rare form; ἰυγμός is common in Hom. and tragedy) is a cry of woe or cry for assistance (see Wilkins 1993 on Eur. *Heracl.* 126); for βαρβαρόφωνος cf. 8.20.2, also in an oracle attributed to Bacis, and *Il.* 2.867 (of the Carians).

τῆι 'where'.

ὑπὲρ λάχεσίν τε μόρον τε 'beyond their allotted share and portion'. The phrase ὑπὲρ μόρον (sometimes written as one word) occurs in Hom. where it means 'beyond what was fated' and is mainly used in counterfactuals (*Il.* 20.30, 21.517; *Od.* 5.436). λάχεσις (cf. λαγχάνω, 'obtain as one's portion'), is not found in Hom., but is personified as one of the Fates (with Clotho and Atropos) already in Hes. *Theog.* 905. λάχος and μόρος are nearly synonymous; both refer to the portion which one has been allotted in life, often with specific reference to the length of time one's life will last. Here the idea is that these Medes will die prematurely (cf. *Od.* 5.436). In choosing this particular oracle, H. may have had in mind *Od.* 1.32–41, where Zeus explains that Aegisthus brought about his own destruction by marrying Clytemnestra and murdering Agamemnon ὑπὲρ μόρον, even though the gods had warned him of the consequences. The comparison with Mardonius works on two levels: it was 'beyond his lot' to subdue Greece and he will perish 'before his time' as a result of his determination to ignore the omens.

αἴσιμον ἦμαρ: the phrase is Homeric, indicating the day 'decreed by fate', easily moving in meaning to the 'day of destruction' (*Il.* 8.72, 21.100, 22.212; *Od.* 16.280).

ἄλλα Μουσαίου: an example of H. not telling us all that he knows (for others, see Intr. §4). Musaeus, one of the canonical poets (preceded in lists only by Homer, Hesiod, and Orpheus), was, like Bacis, the reputed author of oracles. His oracles were compiled by the *chresmologos* Onomacritus of Athens, who accompanied the exiled Peisistratids to the court of Xerxes, and who recited only those oracles that indicated Persian success, suppressing those which foretold disaster (7.6). For more on the tradition about Musaeus, see *LIMC* VI.685–7.

44–45 *The night-time mission of Alexander I*

Alexander of Macedon leaves the Persian camp by night and brings a message to the Athenian guard posts, telling them that Mardonius intends to attack at dawn. The scene has much in common with earlier visits (some at night) before major battles: Miltiades to Callimachus before Marathon (6.109.2), Mnesiphilus to Themistocles (8.57) and Sicinnus to Xerxes before Salamis (8.75). Not surprisingly, therefore, most scholars find the whole story 'absurd' (Borza 1990: 110–12) and 'ludicrous' (Lazenby 230–1), on the grounds that a Macedonian king would not have gone riding about the Plataean plain in the middle of the night. It is often asserted that this story was invented by Alexander himself to exonerate him from charges of medism. Badian 1994: 118–19, however, thinks the story is basically true, but dressed up for effect as we have it. Alexander might have calculated that he had nothing to lose: if the Greeks won, as now seemed much more likely than before, this spectacular gesture might be enough to enable him to avoid retaliation after the war. Others (Green 258–60; *CAH* IV².605) have Alexander acting on Mardonius' orders and then playing the role of a double agent: but that sort of highly complex reconstruction goes far beyond the evidence. (Those who defend the genuineness of the story, despite what seems to be a ludicrous action, can point out that individuals often take risks in difficult situations: in 1941 deputy Führer Rudolf Hess made an unauthorised solo flight to Scotland thinking that he could broker a peace between Britain and Germany.) Whatever the historical reality behind Alexander's actions, the narrative function of the passage is to form an explanatory bridge between Mardonius' decision to attack and

Pausanias' attempt to switch wings with the Athenians. It also provides a suitable coda to the earlier counsellings of Alexander (7.173.3: the Greeks should retreat from the pass at Tempe before being trampled under foot; 8.136–141: the Athenians should come to terms with Xerxes): although previously he urged that resistance was impossible, he here metamorphoses into a spokesperson for the ideal of Greek liberty and bids the allies stand their ground.

44.1 τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν 'his question about the oracles'.

φυλακάς 'guard posts', the usual meaning of the plural of φυλακή.

πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς προελήλατο 'it was advanced far into the night'; προελήλατο (< προελαύνω, to march forward) is an impersonal plupf. passive; for πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς cf. 2.121 δ.6.

Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω: on his ancestry see 8.137–139; on the use of the patronymic, 41.1 n.

44.2 ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς 'ran off to (get) the generals'.

ἄνθρωπος, not ἀνήρ, because the pickets thought that he was a barbarian: cf. 48.1 n.

ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν παραγυμνοῖ ἔπος 'discloses no other word'; the construction is paratactical, 'he discloses on the one hand no other word, but (δέ) calling upon the generals by name ...'. The verb παραγυμνῶ is appropriate for the sense of 'disclose': cf. Themistocles at 8.19.2.

στρατηγοὺς δὲ ὀνομάζων: Alexander is portrayed as knowing the names of the Athenian generals (although H. does not name them), which suggests continued contact with the Athenians from his previous year. H. mentions only two generals for this year: Aristides (28n.) at Plataea and Xanthippus (114n.) with the fleet. Plut. (*Arist.* 20) names two other Athenian generals at Plataea, Leocrates and Myronides, but characteristically (Intr. §5d) has Alexander ask for Aristides alone (15.3).

45.1 παραθήκην ... τίθεμαι 'I put on deposit', i.e. as a pledge of Alexander's good faith. In return for this, he expects acknowledgement after the fact.

ἀπόρρητα ποιεύμενος 'considering them [sc. τὰ ἔπεα] secret'. For ποιέω cf. 5.2n.

πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλον ἢ Παυσανίην 'that you should speak (them) to no one other than Pausanias': the infinitive completes the thought, and is still dependent on ποιεύμενος. In Plut.'s version Alexander requests that Aristides keep his message secret, but Aristides insists that Pausanias be told (*Arist.* 15.5).

45.2 Ἕλλην γένος εἰμί: the kings of Macedon claimed, as descendants of Temenus (a Heraclid whose descendants had emigrated from Argos to Macedonia), to be Greeks ruling over barbarians. This claim is stated as fact by both H. (5.22; 8.137–138) and Thuc. (2.99.3; 5.80.2); and apparently it was accepted by the judges at Olympia at the time when Alexander competed in the games (H. 5.22). The Macedonians themselves, however, apart from the members of the royal house, were not considered to be Greeks (see Thuc. 2.80–1; 4.126.3; Isoc. *Phil.* 108; Dem. *Ol.* 3.24; *Phil.* 3.30–1; Arist. *Pol.* 1324b5–23), and that explains the emphatic way in which Alexander proclaims his ethnicity.

τὠρχαῖον 'originally', 'from a long way back'.

λέγω δὲ ὦν: the ὦν here is resumptive, bringing the listeners back to the main point after his explanations of his actions (*GP* 463–4): 'now what I have to say is this'.

καταθύμια 'favourable', but as a poetic word it contains within it the notion of what one desires (θυμός); so here Mardonius cannot get the sacrifices to come out 'as his heart desires', 'to his liking'; the word thus has added resonance for Mardonius since he is portrayed as passionate to a fault (see Intr. §3; 3.1 n.).

πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσθε 'for otherwise you would long ago have fought'; for γάρ with ἄν representing an elided protasis, see *AGPS* §54.3.10.E.

οἱ δέδοκται: the perfect emphasises his present (νῦν) state of mind: 'he has resolved' and so 'he is now determined'.

τὰ μὲν σφάγια ἐᾶν χαίρειν: see 41.4n.

ἅμα ἡμέρηι δὲ διαφαυσκούσηι: 'with the dawn of day'; the verb is very rare, not found before H. and not common after him.

καταρρώδηκε: again, the perfect emphasises his present mind: 'he is greatly afraid'.

ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω: 17.4n.

ἢν δὲ ἄρα: ἄρα indicates 'that the hypothesis is one of which the possibility has only just been realized: "If, after all"' (*GP* 37); cf. 90.2, 104.

ὑπερβάληται 'postpones' (Powell II.1).

λιπαρέετε μένοντες 'persist in remaining in your present position'.

ὀλιγέων . . . ἡμερέων . . . σιτία: this statement seems to contradict the assertion of Artabazus at 41.2 'that much food had been brought into Thebes.' This is not likely to be an oversight on H.'s part nor can Alexander be referring exclusively to supplies on the Asopus; for lines of supply were

open to Thebes. Even if formally inconsistent, each statement makes rhetorical sense in its own context: both Artabazus and Alexander are made to say what is necessary to support their respective cases. Thuc. 6.33.5 (cf. Intr. §5d) may provide confirmation of Alexander's claim that Mardonius was indeed short of supplies. If true, it well explains his eagerness to fight a decisive battle as soon as possible.

45.3 τινα 'you'; although τις can be purely general (cf. German *man*), it can also refer to someone just named or understood, or be used politely in place of ἐγώ or σύ (see K-G 1.662 for examples).

ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι 'in the matter of liberation', i.e., of Macedon from Persian power after the war. Alexander is expecting that if the Athenians win, they will then help him liberate his own country.

παράβολον 'risky': this is the earliest example in Greek of the adjective; cf. παραβάλλω at 1.108.4 and 7.10θ.1 and cf. *Il.* 9.322: αἰεὶ ἐμὴν ψυχὴν παραβαλλόμενος.

μὴ προσδεκομένοισί κω 'at some time or other when you are not expecting it'.

εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών: rhetorically and dramatically effective. Literary art here predominates over strict logic, since Alexander would have been known to Aristides and the other generals from his mission to Athens in winter 480. Plut. (*Arist.* 15.3) less effectively begins his version of Alexander's speech with these words.

46–47 Pausanias attempts to exchange wings

This strange episode is most likely an Athenian invention which tried to mitigate the fact that it was the Spartans who defeated the Persians whereas the Athenians fought only against other Greeks. As with the slaying of Masistius by Athenian archers (21–23), this episode gives the Athenians a greater role in the campaign and proves their worth as hoplites. It has also been suggested that this action conceals tactical manoeuvres which H. and his immediate sources no longer fully understood, but this is less likely. The dramatic importance of the scene is to provide the basis for Mardonius' taunt and challenge that immediately follow, and that are so revealing of his character and attitude.

46.1 καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας: H. is unlikely to have known Pausanias' emotional state at this juncture, but the dread, if real, may have been caused by Pausanias' recognition that in their only other encounter with the Persians (at Thermopylae) the Spartans were totally annihilated. H.'s

portrait of Thermopylae has the Spartans slaying 20,000 of Xerxes' army (8.24), but the notion that such a small number of Spartans killed so many of the enemy is implausible and part of the later mythicisation of the battle. (The truth may be that the only barbarians to have fallen were the 1,000 whose corpses Xerxes is said to have left on the battlefield.) In the historical circumstances of 479, therefore, Pausanias' deference to the Athenians was not unreasonable, since they alone had had success against the Persians in hoplite fighting.

46.2 **ἐς ἠῶ** 'at daybreak'. εἰς + acc. meaning 'at (by) such a time' is used of a fixed or expected time: Smyth §1686b.

τὴν μάχην 'their manner of battle', or 'style of fighting'.

ἐν Μαραθῶνι μαχεσάμενοι: a reference back to the Athenian boast at 27.5. It is not so extraordinary for a Spartan to concede this, given that Marathon was still at that point the only victory of Greek hoplites over Persians and Medes.

ἄπειροι . . . καὶ ἀδαέες 'inexperienced and ignorant': ἀδαέες contrasts with Athenian knowledge, and ἄπειροι with Spartan experience of their neighbours closer to home. The Spartans had indeed faced the Persians at Thermopylae, but the deaths of those men prevented them from passing on their ἐμπειρία.

Σπαρτιητέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς πεπείρηται Μήδων: strictly speaking true; although Aristodemus had been at Thermopylae, he had left before that battle began; see 7.229–231 and below, 71.2–4.

46.3 **πάλαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς** 'a long way back from the beginning', i.e., from when the arrangements were first made ten days ago.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀρρωδέομεν: there is an ellipsis here, the ἀλλά marking a stop to the preceding clause, while the γάρ explains why; understand 'but (we did not say this) because we were afraid . . . '; cf. *GP* 100–1 and 27.4n. Just as on the Persian side (42) so too on the Greek there can be silence; the reasons, however, are significantly different, for on the Persian side it was fear, whereas the Athenians are portrayed as not wishing to disturb the harmony of the Greek cause.

47 **ἠώς τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξις**: for τε . . . και expressing simultaneity, cf. 16.3n.

παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας . . . Λακεδαιμονίους 'leading the Persians over against the Lacedaemonians'.

ὡς δ' αὕτως 'in the same way'; the adverb ὡσαύτως is sometimes split by H. in this way: cf. 81.2.

48–49.1 The message of Mardonius to the Spartans

The wording of his challenge recalls the battle of Thyrea in *c.* 545 between 300 picked Argive and Spartan soldiers (1.82); in addition, the call to a single combat has appeared earlier in the book in the debate over who should hold the left wing (26.5, 27.2, 27.5 with nn.). Both the taunts and the challenge are Homeric in tone: cf. Paris' challenge to Menelaus, *Il.* 3.67–75, and especially Hector's deriding of Diomedes (cited above, 20n.). At the same time, Mardonius' words here are consistent with his sentiment at 7.9β.1–2, where he faults the Greeks for the wasteful way in which they wage war. He may therefore mean the offer sincerely. As it turns out, the battle does indeed come down to a separate fight between the Persian and Lacedaemonian contingents (61.2n.). For the associations of this later battle with Thyrea, see Dillery 1996.

This incident, clearly of a piece with the preceding narrative, is taken to be no more historical than the exchange of wings. It is generally assumed that the entire incident is anti-Spartan, concocted no doubt by an unscrupulous and propagandistic Athenian source. It is, however, important for the characterisation of Mardonius. His sarcastic message, like his later speech to the Aleuadae (58 with nn.), is a carefully wrought elaboration of his passionate and headstrong nature (3.1n.). Both incidents heighten the impression of his overbearing conduct, since his contempt concerns an enemy whose strength and bravery have already been proven in this war (so Solmsen 1944: 251–2) – although the hesitancy of the Spartans could be interpreted by Mardonius as cowardice (Intr. §3). This challenge also emphasises Mardonius' fatal and tragic blindness to the realities of the situation (as the narrator himself comments in his phrase ψυχρῆι νίκηι (49.1n.); cf. also 16.5n., 41.4n.). Seen in this light, the speech proves to be empty boasting, and the Spartans make the best response of all in the mettle they show on the battlefield. The historical Mardonius may well be excused for underestimating the lesson of Thermopylae, but the Mardonius of H.'s narrative landscape ought to have recognised the implications of that battle for any future confrontation.

48.1 ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε . . . ἄνδρες ἄριστοι: with pronouns δή is often ironic or contemptuous in tone (*GP* 207–8): Mardonius is sneering at the Lacedamonians' claim to be the best of the Greeks. In Hom., the issue of who is best is strongly contested, and the issue itself is fundamental in epic for establishing the hero's *kleos* (Nagy 1979: 26–41). In H. the question of who is

best/bravest at war is almost a *leitmotif* of Books 5–9. Aristagoras of Miletus had put the claim for Spartan superiority to king Cleomenes in 499 (5.49.3: 'you have reached the highest level of excellence in matters pertaining to war'); at 7.9γ, Mardonius boasts that if the Greeks should be rash enough to attack Xerxes' army, 'they would learn that we are the best of men in the matters of war' (εἶμεν ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι τὰ πολέμια). Artabanus countered by noting that the Greeks 'are said to be the best on land and sea' (7.10α.3), and he furnished as proof the defeat by the Athenians alone of the forces of Datis and Artaphernes (10β.1). An extended case for Spartan heroism was later enunciated by the exiled Spartan king Demaratus (7.102, 209, 234), who tells Xerxes that he is now 'fighting against the fairest kingdom in Greece and the bravest men' (ἄνδρας ἀρίστους, 7.209.4).

ἄνδρες . . . ἀνθρώπων: the contrast is between real men and mere human beings. Mardonius obviously has a low opinion of his Boeotian allies, later referring to them as 'our slaves' (48.2n.). Although ἄνθρωπος can be used in a contemptuous tone, it is nevertheless not inherently derogatory, and it can be neutral or even favourable: see Dickey 1996: 150.

τῆιδε 'in this region', locative dative with γῆι understood.

ἐκπαγλεομένων: 'who exceedingly admire you because . . . '; the antecedent is τῶν τῆιδε ἀνθρώπων, and the present tenses that follow indicate a general truth rather than any specific action going on at that point. The verb itself, which is somewhat stronger than θωμάζω, is used also at 7.181.3 and 8.92.1, both times of the Persian reaction to Pytheas of Aegina who refused to surrender when fighting against them.

ὡς οὔτε φεύγετε . . . ἀπόλλυτε: Demaratus' praise of the Lacedaemonians to Xerxes concluded with nearly the same words (7.104.5): ποιεῦσι γῶν τὰ ἂν ἐκεῖνος [sc. νόμος] ἀνώγηι· ἀνώγει δὲ τὠυτὸ αἰεί, οὐκ ἐῶν φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῆι τάξι ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι.

48.2 τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἦν οὐδὲν ἀληθές: Mardonius, using the most appropriate rhetorical means at his disposal, is deliberately provocative in this speech. Yet as mentioned above (48.1–4n.), he seems strangely unaware of Spartan heroism during the battle of Thermopylae (an impression made more emphatic by the imperfect ἦν). ἄρα indicates, as often, something only just being recognised, here 'the surprise attendant upon disillusionment' (*GP* 35).

πρὶν . . . ἐς χειρῶν . . . νόμον ἀπίκεσθαι 'before coming to actual battle', lit. 'before coming into the convention of hands', one of several

idioms with χείρ that refer to war or battle (cf. 5.72.4 where ἔργα χειρῶν indicates martial prowess); for the sense here of 'actual battle', cf. 8.89.1 where H. contrasts those at Salamis who died while fighting (ἐν χειρῶν νόμωι) with those who drowned in the aftermath of the battle.

ἐν Ἀθηναίοισί τε τὴν πρόπειραν ποιευμένους 'and making a first attempt as regards the Athenians'; ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι means literally 'among' or 'in the person of' (cf. ἐν ὑμῖν in the next sentence). The Persians are suggesting that the Lacedaemonians wanted the Athenians to fight first with the Persians to try them out, before they themselves engaged them; for πρόπειρα as a 'first attempt' or 'testing out' cf. Thuc. 3.86.4.

αὐτούς: intensifying, referring back to ὑμέας, 'and you yourselves being stationed . . . '

δούλων τῶν ἡμετέρων: it was a ubiquitous misconception by the Greeks that all of the subjects of the Persian empire were slaves: cf., e.g., 7.8β.3, 7.8γ.3, 7.135.3; Aesch. *Pers.* 241–4; Isoc. *Paneg.* 181; Dem. 15.15. The phrase 'slave of the king' (first attested at Andoc. 3.29; but certainly implicit at H. 7.135.3) probably originated in an official translation for the Greek-speaking population in Asia Minor of a Persian royal document, most likely the Behistun inscription, where δοῦλος was used for Old Persian 'ba[n]daka' and Elamite 'libar', which actually mean something more like 'servant': see Missiou 1993.

48.3 πλεῖστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐψεύσθημεν 'we were completely deceived as regards you'.

κατὰ κλέος 'in accordance with your reputation'.

ὡς δὴ πέμψετε 'that you would – but you did not – send'; the indicative is retained in indirect discourse for vividness; δή here, as often after a verb of saying or thinking, suggests that what follows is false (*GP* 233); and there is as well a tone of contempt.

προκαλεύμενοι 'calling us out to fight'; in the mid. the verb since Hom. has the sense of challenging someone to a battle: see *Il.* 3.432, 13.809, *Od.* 8.142, etc.

μούνοισι Πέρσῃσι: Koen proposed to read ⟨μοῦνοι⟩ μούνοισι, which would better serve the sense of 'one on one', but μούνοισι alone is perhaps sufficient for this. On the theme of single combat see 48.1–4n. and 75n. Xerxes predicted to Demaratus that even an equal number of Greeks would hardly be able to stand up to the Persians alone: δοκέω δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ ἀνισωθέντας πλήθεϊ χαλεπῶς ἂν Ἕλληνας Πέρσῃσι μούνοισι μάχεσθαι (7.103.4).

πτώσσοντας 'shrinking from the fray', a strong term of reproach (and a hapax). The word can be used of any cowering or shrinking from a thing, but in respect to battle, it has strong Homeric overtones of running in fear from a fight. Cf. Agamemnon scolding Mnestheus and Odysseus (*Il.* 4.340: τίπτε καταπτώσσοντες ἀφέστατε) and Diomedes (*Il.* 4.370–1) for hanging back from the fighting.

ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξομεν 'we shall begin it instead'; on ἀλλά in apodoses, 42.2n.

48.4 τί . . . οὐ . . . ἐμαχεσάμεθα; 'why do we not fight?'; the aorist is often used in questions with τί (οὖν) οὐ 'to express surprise that something has not been done' and is thus 'equivalent to a command' (Smyth §1936). δή here adds an emphatic element ('whatever can be the reason why?').

πρό 'on behalf of'; cf. 72.2.

δεδόξωσθε 'you have the reputation' (perf. with pres. meaning).

τῶν βαρβάρων: a narrative convention, of course, reflecting the Greek point of view, since no Persian would have referred to himself and the subject peoples of Asia as 'barbarians'; cf. the similar use in Aesch. *Pers.* 187, 337. In the 5th c., and as a result of the Persian invasions, βάρβαρος became a pejorative term which reflected the natural superiority of Greeks to non-Greeks, who were conceived as generic opposites (see E. Hall 1989: 9–12). Boegehold 1999: 96–7 suggests that the reader is meant to take 'barbarians' ironically: that is, the tone of voice and the accompanying gesture of the person reading the text would have told listeners that Mardonius was hurling this label back in the faces of the Greeks.

ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους: cf. Soph. *Ant.* 141–2 (of the Seven against Thebes): ταχθέντες ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους.

ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσώμεθα 'then let us fight it out to the end'; for other examples of δέ marking an apodosis, see Powell s.v. E.1.

ὁκότεροι . . . νικῶν: the phrase is almost identical with the terms for the battle of Thyrea (1.82.3): ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν περιγένωνται, τούτων εἶναι τὸν χῶρον.

49.1 οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνετο: the silence of the Spartans is heroic: Masaracchia ad loc. compares Diomedes' silence in the face of Hector's taunt (*Il.* 8.160–71), and heroic silence is especially characteristic of the *Od.*, where it indicates 'the silent mastery of oneself and the external world' (Montiglio 1999: 267): Odysseus refrains from replying to Melanthios' taunts, instead 'devising evils in his heart' (*Od.* 17.489–91; cf. 17.235–8, 393; 19.42–3, and on Odysseus in general, Montiglio, ibid. 256–75). So the

silence here might indicate the Spartans' utter contempt for the proposal or it might be characteristic of a people who prided themselves on action not words (cf. 48–49.1n.; 27.1 with n.). Cf. Archidamus' remark in Thuc. that the Spartans are not so excessively clever as 'to disparage the resources of the enemy with fine words, and then to come out unequal in action' (τὰς τῶν πολεμίων παρασκευὰς λόγωι καλῶς μεμφόμενοι, ἀνομοίως ἔργωι ἐπεξιέναι, 1.84.3). For the importance and function of silence in Spartan society, see David 1999.

τὰ καταλαβόντα 'what had happened'; for this sense of the verb, Powell s.v., 2.

ψυχρῆι νίκηι 'by a profitless victory', lit. 'by a cold victory': cf. Eng. 'cold comfort'; for a similar metaphor cf. 6.108.2 ἐπικουρίη ψυχρή; the sense here leans towards 'useless' or indeed even 'false' victory, since Mardonius has won only a contest of words.

ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον: by now it was probably noon at the earliest. Burn 528 calculates that the original exchange of the Spartans and Athenians, given a line nearly three miles long, would have taken an hour. That operation began at dawn (47) and by the time all of the moves and countermoves had been completed, most of the morning would have been consumed (see 52.n).

49.2–51 Attack of the Persian cavalry and Greek decision to move to the 'Island'

49.2 ἐσίνοντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικήν: the contingents of the Greek centre (Corinthians, Sicyonians, Megarians, etc.), who were situated on low ground, probably were the hardest hit; whereas the Athenians and Spartans, who occupied the higher ground of the Pyrgos hill and the Asopus ridge respectively, were less vulnerable to attack by cavalry. This may help to explain why the Greek centre disobeyed Pausanias' orders on the next day and fled towards Plataea (see 52n.).

ὥστε = ἅτε: cf. 37.2n.

προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι 'impossible to come to close quarters with'; in its neutral sense προσφέρεσθαι means simply 'to approach' (LSJ, B.3), but in the context of battle, the sense is 'to engage'; for a similar use (again involving horses) see 5.112.2; Thuc. 7.53.2.

συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν: 'disturbed and heaped with earth'. On συνέχωσαν see 13.2n. This demonstrates that the Persian cavalry were not only crossing the Asopus, but had actually ridden right round the

open Greek right flank and were attacking the rear of the Greek line. The assertion of Green 261 that the blocking of the spring 'was an emergency operation' by an enterprising Persian squadron, has no support in the text. The clear implication of 50–51 is that the Persian cavalry were regularly patrolling the plain between Cithaeron and the Asopus.

49.3 **ἐρυκόμενοι**: passive.

οὕτω δὴ . . . ἐφοίτων 'and it was for this reason that they had to go'.

50 **τούτου . . . τοιούτου γινομένου** 'such being the case', lit. 'this thing becoming such'; cf. next n.

τούτων τοιούτων ἐόντων: probably concessive: 'even though these things were such', but possible too as a gen. of comparison with ἄλλα ('things other than these being such . . . ').

οὔτε γὰρ σιτία εἶχον ἔτι: presumably no supplies had reached them since the successful raid of the Persian cavalry during the night of the eighth day in their second position (38–39); this was thus their third day without being reprovisioned. This shortage of food was even more serious than the lack of water.

οὔτε . . . ἔτι 'no longer'.

ὀπέωνες: 'attendants', not 'slaves'; these were some (perhaps many) of the light-armed troops, including helots, who accompanied the hoplites to Plataea. In the *Il.* the noun ὀπάων (cf. ὀπάζω, 'to accompany' or 'to attend') designates a companion in warfare, though of somewhat dependent status; see Kirk 1990: 257 and for the historical background, Greenhalgh 1982.

ἀπεκεκλήιατο 'had [for some time] been completely cut off'; the plupf. indicates that the action was both complete and of some duration. They were unable to descend into the plain where the Persian cavalry was presumably on frequent patrol.

51.1 **τὴν νῆσον**: its location can no longer be identified, but it may have been formed by two branches of the Oeroë in their upper courses as they flowed down from Cithaeron (as described in 51.2; HW ad loc.; Hignett 325–6; Lazenby 233–4). Grundy 1901: 480–6 located some suitable ridges at the foot of Cithaeron between the upper courses of these streams; see also Pritchett 1985: 117–20. Alternatively, it was in the plain before the point where the streams come together, but this has been rejected by all recent modern accounts on the grounds that such an exposed location would have afforded little protection from the Persian cavalry.

ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης . . . δέκα σταδίους: there is no need to emend the text by inserting κʹ (= 20) between Ἀσωποῦ

and καί (as suggested by Woodhouse 1898: 57, and accepted by Pritchett 1957: 26, Green 301 n. 13), even though the Asopus is actually 20 stades from the Island (accepting Grundy's location for it), whereas 10 stades is appropriate only for Gargaphia. Either H. is writing loosely or he does not realise that Gargaphia itself is about 10 stades distant from the Asopus (see Lazenby 233–5).

πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος: it was in front of the city as one approached on the road from Athens.

51.2 νῆσος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἠπείρωι 'you might say it was an island on the mainland in this [i.e., the following] way'.

σχιζόμενος ... ἄνωθεν 'dividing above', i.e., upstream.

διέχων ... τὰ ῥέεθρα 'holding its streams apart'.

ὅσον περ τρία στάδια: like ὅσον τε (23.2n.) ὅσον περ with numbers means 'approximately'.

θυγατέρα ... οἱ ἐπιχώριοι: mentioned also by Paus. 9.4.4 but his brevity suggests that he is completely dependent on H.; no later writer mentions her. On citations in H. see Intr. §4.

51.3 ἵνα ... ἔχωσι ... καὶ ... μὴ σινοίατο: mixing of subj. and opt. in a purpose clause is not uncommon; there is no difference between the two in how the purpose is viewed: *MT* §§318–21.

ὥσπερ κατιθὺ ἐόντων 'as when they were stationed directly opposite'; the antecedent of ἐόντων could be either the horsemen or the Greeks; the ultimate result is the same.

ὡς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίατο: for ἄν in purpose clauses cf. 22.3n.

51.4 περισχίζεται ῥέουσα 'splits around as it flows'.

ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην 'during this night'; ὑπό + acc. in expressions of time indicates 'at about the time of' and 'avoids pinpointing a moment' (*AGPS* §68.45.1.C); cf. 60.3, 118.1 for similar uses.

ἀναλάβοιεν 'take up' and so 'rescue'.

ἐπὶ τὰ σιτία 'for provisions', the prep. denoting, as often, the goal or object in view (Smyth §1689, 3d).

ἀπολελαμμένοι 'trapped'; for the Ionic form, Intr. 7.F.7.

52 *Flight of the Greek centre*

H. claims that the contingents which made up the Greek centre (18,600 hoplites from 24 different states, from the Corinthians at the right centre to the Megarians at the left centre) had no intention of following orders

and retreating to the Island, but wilfully fled to the city of Plataea. This is a serious allegation and it serves to restrict the credit for the Greek victory to the Athenians, Tegeans, and Spartans. As Plut. observes (*Her. mal.* 872b–c): 'In that sentence he has simultaneously accused them of disobedience, desertion, and betrayal.' Whereas Plut. attempts to discredit H.'s account using probability, modern scholars attempt to rationalise it, either (a) by arguing that these troops were actually carrying out orders and were part of an elaborate scheme to lure Mardonius into an ambush (Burn 531–4, Wallace 1982; easily refuted by Pritchett 1985 and Lazenby 235), or (b) by conjecturing that they accidentally got lost while crossing unfamiliar terrain by night (Hignett 327; Green 262; Lazenby 235, who alone concedes that panic may also have played a role). Both explanations lack any ancient authority, and are no more plausible than H.'s own explanation. Nor can one simply assert that H. was misled by Athenian informants, who were particularly embittered against Corinth and Megara at the time when he was writing (*pace* Burn 531, Green 301 n. 15). Elsewhere he is quite capable of disregarding such bias: e.g. he questions the Athenian claim that the Corinthian contingent fled the sea-battle at Salamis (8.94), and he notes Corinthian bravery at Mycale (102.3, 105). The narrative makes sense both in its own terms and as an explanation of how people actually act in times of stress: after a long day of continual harassment without food and water, the flight of the centre, albeit irresponsible and cowardly, is not at all surprising or unnatural.

52 πόνον ἄτρυτον 'ceaseless toil'; the adj. is poetic: cf. Pind. *Pyth* 4.178 (Hermes sends his sons ἐπ' ἄτρυτον πόνον) and Soph. *Aj.* 788 (κακῶν ἀτρύτων). For πόνος as the toil of war, cf. 2.2n. on ἀπόνως.

ἔληγε 'was drawing to a close'; H. uses λήγω mainly of space (cf. 7.216), only here of time.

ἐς τὴν ... ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι 'at which they had agreed to depart'; ἐς with the acc. is used for a fixed or expected time (Smyth §1686b).

συνέκειτό ... συνέκειτο: in both cases the verb is impersonal; in the second there is an ellipsis of the infinitive ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι; so too with συνεθήκαντο below, 53.1.

οἱ πολλοί: the Greek centre, since it emerges in 53–54 that the Lacedaemonians and Athenians continued to remain in their original positions

οὐκ ἐν νόωι ἔχοντες 'not intending', its usual meaning in H. (Powell s.v. νόος, 2f), cf. the Eng. idiom 'to have in mind'. Plut. (*Arist.* 17.1) mitigates the blame by having the rank and file (τὸ πλῆθος, οἱ πολλοί) disregard their

generals and rush to Plataea on their own initiative, but this is typical of his characterisation of the 'multitude' as rash and ungovernable, on which see Pelling 1986: 167–81.

οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐκινήθησαν 'but they, once they had started'; οἱ δέ does not mark a change of subject, but rather shows the close correlation of their mental processes (μέν) with their actions.

ἔφευγον . . . φεύγοντες: the repetition underscores that these Greeks are running away; they contrast strongly with Amompharetus, who will refuse to flee (53.2).

τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν: Plataea itself had been burnt by the advancing Persians in 480 (8.50).

εἴκοσι σταδίους: *c.* 4,000 metres, twice as far as they were supposed to withdraw.

ἔθεντο . . . τὰ ὅπλα 'they took up their position', lit. 'they put (down) their arms'.

53–57 Amompharetus refuses to move

H. may have written this vivid and dramatic episode upon the template of the conflict between Agamemnon and Achilles in the *Iliad*, i.e. a violent verbal confrontation between the commanding officer (Agamemnon/Pausanias) and his subordinate (Achilles/Amompharetus) which endangers the entire army. H. seems to have considerable sympathy for Amompharetus, who, like Achilles, died with honour (see further 55.2n. for a specific Homeric reminiscence); he was deemed by the Spartans to have especially distinguished himself during the battle (71.2n.) and was given separate burial with the other 'priests' (85.2n.). Contrast this with the two polemarchs at Mantinea in 418, who refused to obey King Agis' order to change positions as they were advancing into battle, and were subsequently banished (Thuc. 5.71–3). In that case, however, their punishment was probably the result of Spartan defeat in the part of the line to which they refused to move. Modern scholars often rationalise H.'s account by postulating that Amompharetus was acting under orders and probably serving as a rear-guard (e.g. Burn 532–4; Green 202–5; Lazenby 236–7), but this is to miss the 'heroic' cast of the incident.

53.1 κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους 'in the same direction (or manner) as the rest', κατά here used in its sense of 'in accordance with'; cf. 66.2n.

53.2 ἄρτιοι: 27.6n.

λοχηγέων: cf. 21.3n.

τοῦ Πιτανήτεω λόχου: Pitana, located on the river Eurotas, was one of the four original villages which comprised the town of Sparta, and was the burial-place of the Agiad kings; it is one of the few places that H claims explicitly to have visited (3.55.2; cf. Intr. §1). The existence of a Pitanate λόχος is strongly denied by Thuc. (1.20.3), and historians are divided over whether or not the Spartan army was organised regionally in 479. It is possible that it was divided into five *lochoi*, each of which consisted of Spartiates drawn from one of the five *obai* or villages (including Amyclae as a fifth); then at some later point between 479 and 418 these local (obal) units were reorganised into the *morai* which cut across the *obai*. For discussion, see Cartledge 1979: 255–7, Lazenby 1985: 48–52 (though vitiated in part by his joining this issue with the ἰρένας / ἰρέας problem of 85.1, for which see n.); and Hornblower, *CT* i. 57–8 for more recent bibliography.

οὐκ ἔφη . . . φεύξεσθαι: for the implicit comparison with the 'fleeing' Greeks see 52n. at ἔφευγον.

τοὺς ξείνους: cf. 11.2n.

οὐδὲ ἑκὼν εἶναι αἰσχυνέειν τὴν Σπάρτην 'nor would he willingly bring shame upon Sparta', for ἑκὼν εἶναι cf. 17.1n. Amompharetus here is motivated by two heroic qualities, both Homeric: standing one's ground in the face of the enemy, and an unwillingness to bring shame upon one's country. The latter can be seen clearly in Glaukos' desire 'always to be first and to be superior to others, and not to shame the race of my fathers' (αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων, | μηδὲ γένος πατέρων αἰσχύνεμεν, *Il.* 6.208–9). The importance for the Spartans of remaining in one's position is well shown by the story of Othryadas in the battle between Spartans and Argives at Thyrea (1.82).

ἐθώμαζέ τε ὁρῶν τὸ ποιεύμενον: Amompharetus' speech and actions are a counterpoint to the challenge of Mardonius (48.1–4): just as the Persian commander had remarked on the Spartan shifting of wings, so too Amompharetus marvels at what he envisions to be flight before the enemy. his confusion at Spartan behaviour likewise mirrors that of Mardonius. Although both Amompharetus and Pausanias have the honour of their city at stake, their different notion of what honour at this moment entails puts them in conflict.

τῶι προτέρωι λόγωι: i.e., the conference at which the strategy had been discussed (51.1).

53.3 Εὐρυάναξ: not mentioned since 10.3. he appears here rather suddenly in a position of authority seemingly equal to that of Pausanias (he is

named first at 55.1). Either H. had no other information about him other than what was embedded in the story of Amompharetus' insubordination or else he has been extremely selective in not cluttering his account with too many characters:

δεινὸν . . . ἐποιεῦντο: cf. 5.2n.

κείνου ταῦτα νενωμένου: the pf. participle here (< νοέω, 'to have in mind', with Ionic -ω- for Attic -οη-) captures the generals' original assessment of Amompharetus' mind, i.e., 'given that he has formed this intention'.

ἀπολιπεῖν . . . ἀπολίπωσι . . . ὑπολειφθείς: the repetition serves to emphasise the dilemma of the Spartans and their horror at abandoning one of their own comrades and his men.

ἢν ἀπολίπωσι ποιεῦντες τὰ συνεθήκαντο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι 'if they abandoned (him) by doing the things that they had agreed upon with the rest of the Greeks'; ἀπολίπωσι is a retained subjunctive in indirect discourse, ἄν (as usual) dropping out (Smyth §2603): the original would have been ἢν ἀπολίπωμεν or the like.

ἀπολίπωσι . . . ἀπόληται: note the wordplay (desertion = destruction); the mood of ἀπόληται is governed by an understood verb of fearing.

53.4 **ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντές μιν**: cf. 26.2n. for the construction.

54.1 **Ἀμομφάρετον μοῦνον . . . λελειμμένον** 'Amompharetus who alone had stayed behind'; for this sense of λείπω see 7.229.1, 8.44.1.

ἵνα 'where', its usual meaning when followed by an indicative, and common as a local adverb in Homer and other early literature.

ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων: since ἐπίσταμαι in H. can range in meaning from 'know' to 'believe' to 'believe falsely', the context here is decisive in deciding the meaning. The focalisation is that of the Athenians, and they may feel that they have enough evidence to suspect Spartan actions: cf. 7–10 above, and Intr. §3. This belief in Spartan 'guile' is common in contemporary Athenian writers (cf. Ar. *Ach.* 307–8, *Peace* 217, 263, 1063–8; Eur. *Andr.* 445–52; Thuc. 4.22.2, 5.105.4), and is usually thought to derive from Sparta's treatment of Plataea in 427, when, after taking their town, the Spartans promised the Plataeans no one would be punished unjustly; yet after the Plataean surrender and a mock trial, the men were executed and the rest sold into slavery (Thuc. 3.52–68). Anti-Spartan feeling is particularly strong in Eur.'s *Andr.* (performed *c.* 425); cf. esp. 452–3, where the Spartans 'say one thing and think another' (λέγοντες ἄλλα μὲν | γλώσσηι, φρονοῦντες δ' ἄλλ', 452–3). See further Tigerstedt 1972: 1.108–27 (with full reff.); and for

later examples of Spartan guile see Powell 1988. H.'s narrative, however, does not suggest any guile on the part of Pausanias and the Spartans.

54.2 **ἔπεμπον ... ὀψόμενον ... ἐπειρέσθαι**: there is a shift in construction here, H. using first the future participle, then the infinitive to express purpose; cf. 6 for a similar example.

σφέων 'from their men', a partitive genitive.

εἰ ... ἐπιχειροῖεν ... εἴτε καὶ ... μὴ διανοεῦνται: indirect questions introduced by εἰ can be followed by indic., subj. or opt. (*MT* §680); the move from opt. to indic. here represents the greater drama of the second item (for a similar shift in moods see 8.106.2), and the Athenians' sense that the latter is the more probable scenario; for εἰ ... εἴτε in ind. question cf. 3.35.1 (where, however, some MSS read both as εἴτε).

τὸ χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν 'what it was necessary [sc. for them] to do'; τό here is the relative pronoun.

55.1 **ὥρα** 'he was seeing'; on the form, Intr. §7.F.2. The vividness of the scene is heightened by its focalisation through the Athenian messenger (Intr. §2).

τέ: its position is unexpected, given that it ought to coordinate with καί the two scenes that the herald beholds when he arrives; presumably σφέας τε would have placed the enclitic σφέας unnaturally into first position in its clause: for postponement of τε, see *GP* 515–18.

ἐς νείκεα ἀπιγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρώτους 'their chief men had come to [a state of] quarrelling'.

ὡς γὰρ δή: H. now explains how the herald saw 'quarrelling'; the last we had seen of them (54.1) Pausanias and Euryanax were simply trying to persuade Amompharetus.

οὔκως ἔπειθον 'they were in no way persuading (him)'; for οὔκως ≈ οὐδαμῶς, cf. 1.152.2, 2.162.2.

ἐς ὃ ἐς νείκεά ... ἀπιγμένος 'until just as they had come to fall to quarrelling, the herald of the Athenians came and stood by them'; the use of ἐς ὅ for 'until' is a favourite of H.'s (cf. Powell, s.v. ἐς, B.2) and common in Homer (who, however, follows it with κε + subj.). For ἀπίκατο (plupf.) see Intr. §7.F.3; for the use of parataxis to express simultaneity, cf. 16.3n.

ἐς νείκεά ... συμπεσόντες: for the expression cf. 3.120.2, ἐκ λόγων ἐς νείκεα συμπεσεῖν.

55.2 **νεικέων** 'in the course of the quarrel'.

λαμβάνει πέτρον ἀμφοτέρῃισι τῇισι χερσί: Amompharetus' action, in which he substitutes a large stone for a 'voting pebble' (cf. next n.) calls to mind the extraordinary strength of the Homeric heroes, e.g. *Il.* 5.302–4, 'And the son of Tydeus took a boulder in his hand, a big thing, that not two mortals of today could carry'.

ταύτηι τῇι ψήφωι ψηφίζεσθαι: the point is made forcibly with a pun; the Athenians originally voted with ψῆφοι, 'pebbles', whence ψηφίζομαι, 'to vote'. Since Thuc. 1.87.2 remarks that the Spartans vote by acclamation rather than ballot (κρίνουσι γὰρ βοῆι καὶ οὐ ψήφωι, cf. 28.1 n.), it has been suggested that H. has transferred an Athenian method to the Spartans, but this is too literal. The more apt comparison is with tragedy, which regularly substitutes ψῆφος for the more accurate χειροτονία (Easterling 1985: 7). Nor was voting by pebbles limited to Athens; cf. Pind. *Nem.* 8.26, where Odysseus is said to have bested Ajax 'by secret votes', κρυφίαισι . . . ψάφοις. We might better say, therefore, that Amompharetus' actions are in accord with a wider panhellenic cultural code.

[λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους]: a scholiast's gloss; H. mentioned this Spartan usage earlier (11.2), and the repetition here mars the climax of Amompharetus' witty action; the reminder would have been more appropriate at 53.2, if anywhere.

ὁ δὲ . . . ἐκεῖνον: Pausanias . . . Amompharetus.

μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα: harsh and insulting language; both terms were used of the mad kings Cambyses (3.30.1; 3.25.2) and Cleomenes (5.42.1).

πρός τε . . . σφι πρήγματα 'and to the herald of the Athenians who was asking the things he had been charged with (τὰ ἐντεταλμένα: he had been ordered to ask what the Athenians were to do (54)) he [sc. Pausanias] ordered him to report (λέγειν) their present state of affairs (τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα)'. This is somewhat strained syntax, and Legrand may be right that there is a lacuna after κήρυκα, assuming that something like Stein's τραπόμενος has fallen out. Cf. also next n.

[ὁ Παυσανίης]: unnecessary in light of the ὁ δέ which begins the sentence.

προσχωρῆσαί . . . πρὸς ἑωυτούς 'to join them'; cf. 4.120.2 for a similar construction.

ποιεέιν . . . τά περ ἂν καὶ σφεῖς 'to do whatever [*lit.* the very things which] they [sc. the Spartans] would do'.

56.1 ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἑωυτούς 'wrangling amongst themselves', the verb only here in H., and only here in all extant literature does it seem to mean 'quarrel'; the active means 'interrogate, examine'.

κατελάμβανε 'began to overtake'; cf. 8.6.2.

ἐν τούτωι τῶι χρόνωι κατήμενος 'not moving during the whole time', i.e., that they had been quarrelling; for κατήμενος as 'not moving' rather than the literal 'sitting', see Powell s.v. 2a.

ἀποστιχόντων: the compound only here in H. (cf. 11.2 for the simple form). στ(ε)ίχω and its compounds are largely confined to epic, lyric, and tragedy: LSJ cite only H. for their use in prose.

τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο 'the very things which in fact did happen', an example of narrative prolepsis (Intr. §2).

56.2 τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἤ 'in the opposite direction from'.

ἀντείχοντο 'were keeping close to' (Powell s.v. II.2).

κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον 'turning down into the plain'; one must supply a verb of going (ἤισαν or the like) to match ἀντείχοντο.

57.1 περιείχετο αὐτοῦ μένοντας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν. 'continued eager that they should remain there and not abandon their post'; for περιέχομαι = 'be eager for, cling to' cf. 7.160.2.

προτερεόντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Παυσανίηι 'when Pausanias and his men continued going forward'; for the verb cf. 66.3.

ἰθέηι τέχνηι 'in truth', 'actually'; cf. ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης, above 37.4 with n.

βάδην 'with measured step' or 'at walking pace'; at *Il.* 13.515–7 the adverb (derived from βαίνω) indicates Idomeneus' measured retreat from the battle, contrasted with his former swiftness of foot; cf. next n.

πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στῖφος 'towards the other formation'; στῖφος, which appears only twice in H., is, properly speaking, a group of men in close formation (cf. 70.4). Aesch. *Pers.* 19–20 has the same collocation of words to describe Xerxes' Persian infantry: πεζοί τε βάδην | πολέμου στῖφος παρέχοντες.

57.2 τὸ δέ: sc. τὸ ἄλλο στῖφος, that of Pausanias. στῖφος is also the subject of ἀνέμενε and ἱδρυμένον below.

ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια: for ὅσον τε + numerals see 23.2n.; 10 stades = *c.* 2000m. Pingel emended the text, believing that the δέκα of the MSS was written in error for δ′(= 4); 4 stades from Gargaphia would place the battle near the modern church of St Demetrius, which Grundy 1901: 496 identified with the temple of Demeter. Although the coincidence of names is suggestive, no trace of an ancient temple has been found in the vicinity

of this church (Burn 535–6; Lazenby 239). See next n. but one for a more likely location for the sanctuary of Demeter.

ποταμὸν Μολόεντα ἱδρυμένον Ἀργιόπιόν τε χῶρον καλεόμενον: the location of these landmarks cannot be fixed.

τῆι καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἧσται: the location of this sanctuary of Demeter is the single most important, and most disputed, topographical marker in the battle. It may have stood where Plutarch describes it: 'near Hysiae at the foot of Mount Cithaeron was a very ancient temple of Eleusinian Demeter and Kore' (*Arist.* 11.6). Even though the rest of Plut.'s topography of Plataea is confused (Hignett 418–21), his location for the temple has been made more probable by the discovery of two inscriptions relating to the worship of Demeter (*IG* VII. 1670–1671: see App. B), as well as fragmentary architectural remains (Pritchett 1965: 104–5, 109–10, and pl. 96–7), in a field at the western base of the Pantanassa ridge (so-called after the modern Church of the Pantanassa at the foot of the ridge), about two kilometres N.E. of the modern village of Kriekouki. This ridge is almost certainly the site of ancient Hysiae, and thus this location fits Plut.'s description perfectly. There are, however, at least two difficulties with this location for the sanctuary. First, it is actually 14 stades from the spring Gargaphia, but this is easily solved by assuming that H. is giving only a rough estimate (Hignett 329 n. 1, 333 n. 4; Pritchett 1985: 107–8, 116): with the exception of 51.2 (3 stades) all of H.'s topographical measurements for Plataea are either 10 or 20 stades (Intr. §5b). Second, if Pausanias thought that the rest of the army had by now reached the Island, one needs to explain why he marched so far in the wrong direction. Perhaps now that it was no longer possible to retreat by night and the appearance of the dreaded Persian cavalry was imminent, Pausanias may have found it prudent to alter his line of retreat. By choosing the foot of Mt. Cithaeron, Pausanias would have had the Gyphtokastro pass at his back, so that his rear was protected from cavalry attack and he had access to the pass leading to Attica, and thus he could either wait for a supply train or withdraw entirely if necessary.

57.3 καὶ οἵ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ... προσέκειτο πᾶσα: as in 55.1 above, H. employs parataxis (τε ... καί) where English would use subordination; both events are given independently, but the sense is 'and just as Amompharetus joined them, the Persian cavalry attacked ... '; cf. 16.3n. It was a stroke of luck that Amompharetus joined the main body just as the barbarian cavalry appeared on the scene. It has been argued, contrary to H., that he had thus timed his retreat under Pausanias' orders and was

acting as a rear guard (and this would explain why he was proceeding βάδην rather than δρόμωι).

αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω 'continually forward'.

καὶ ἅμα καταλαβόντες προσεκέατό σφι 'and as soon as they overtook them, they pressed them hard'; H. usually uses the pres. participle + ἅμα to indicate simultaneity, but cf. 3.65.7 for one other example with the aorist.

58–59 *Final speech of Mardonius and Persian attack*

This is one of the most sarcastic and bitterly ironic speeches in the *Histories*. Like his message at 48, Mardonius' outburst here is provoked by a tactical change in the position of the Greek army which Mardonius interprets as a sign of Spartan cowardice. This speech is our last impression of Mardonius, and is consistent with the portrayal of his character to this point (see Solmsen 1944: 252; Intr. §3).

58.1 Θώρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεοὺς αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυδήιον: on Thorax as a particularly zealous supporter of the Persians, see 1.1 n.; we know nothing more of his brothers.

58.2 παῖδες Ἀλεύεω: equivalent to 'Aleuadae' (i.e., 'the descendants of Aleuas': see 1.1 n). The expression does not necessarily mean that their father's name was Aleuas.

πλησιόχωροι: either Mardonius was ignorant of Greek geography or (more likely) from a Persian point of view the distance between Thessaly and Sparta was small.

ἄνδρας . . . τὰ πολέμια . . . πρώτους 'men who are first in the matters of war' (τὰ πολέμια is acc. of respect); cf. 122.3. H. notes that the Persians more than any other people honour those who are brave in war (7.238.2); Mardonius' ridicule of the Spartans is in keeping with that characterisation, since it represents the opposite side of the coin. On the issue of 'first/best in war', see 48.1 n.

μετισταμένους ἐκ τῆς τάξιος: see 46–47.

ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα: on the use of ὑπό in temporal expressions see 51.4n.

καὶ οἱ πάντες ὁρῶμεν διαδράντας 'we all see that they have actually run off'. καί goes with διαδράντας, a word which suggests not only flight but also scattering (διά-), as if they had run off without formation and in utter panic.

διέδεξάν . . . ὅτι: the verb usually governs the participle; only here and at 1.31.3 is it followed by a conjunction.

σφεας ἔδεε . . . μάχηι διακριθῆναι 'they would have had to be marshalled in battle': διακρίνω usually means to 'separate out' and so generally is used to indicate separating from battle (so in the *Il.* and cf. 7.219.2); but it can also, from this same sense, mean 'to marshal' (cf. *Il.* 2.815) as it does here.

πρὸς τοὺς ἀψευδέως ἀρίστους ἀνθρώπων: for Mardonius the Spartan withdrawal proves both that the claims about Spartan heroism are false and that the Spartans themselves are well aware of Persian superiority. On the issue of 'best' in war, cf. 48.1n.

οὐδένες ἄρα ἐόντες ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι ἐοῦσι Ἕλλησι ἐναπεδεικνύατο 'being – as we now see (ἄρα: cf. 45.2n.) – nobodies, they were making their display amongst Greeks, who are (also) nobodies'; the sense of ἀποδείκνυμι (compounded here with ἐν, cf. ἐμμαχέσασθαι, 7β.2) is 'reveal' bravery in battle: see 27.5n.

58.3 **ἔκ γε ἐμεῦ** 'from *me* at least'; such a position for γε is common in prepositional phrases: *GP* 146–7. Mardonius speaks here with flamboyant generosity, suggesting that perhaps others (including the King) would not be so indulgent.

ἐπαινεόντων τούτους τοῖσί τι καὶ συνηιδέατε 'since you praised those about whom you knew something'; a gen. absolute is occasionally used when the grammatical construction demands the dative: see Smyth §2073a. For συνοῖδα + dat. as 'know something about someone', esp. as a witness, cf. LSJ s.v. 1.

τὸ καταρρωδῆσαι . . . ἀποδέξασθαι: both infinitives are articular, even though only one has the article. Mardonius misrepresents Artabazus, since the latter did not say that he feared the Spartans, only that the Persians should not risk a battle (41.3).

πολιορκησομένους 'so that we might be besieged'; again, an addition of Mardonius' in order to make Artabazus look as bad as possible.

ἔτι 'hereafter', as often when the verb is future.

πρὸς ἐμεῦ βασιλεὺς πεύσεται: on Mardonius' alliance of himself with the King see 18.3n.; his words here are highly ironic since the reader knows his death is near, and the irony may be heightened if it was actually Artabazus who informed the King of Mardonius' γνώμη and its disastrous results: for Artabazus' later career cf. 66n.

58.4 **λόγος** 'an accounting'.

ἐκείνοισι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα 'they must not be allowed to do these things', i.e., flee; for this sense of ἐπιτρέπω, Powell, s.v. 3. The verbal adjective is here used impersonally (contrast διωκτέοι). H. uses both sing. and pl. in this construction, whereas Thuc. favours the pl. (Smyth §1003a).

δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας 'they will pay the penalty to us for all the things which they have done against the Persians'; τῶν . . . πάντων = πάντων τά 'of all the things which': the relative τῶν has been attracted into the case of its antecedent: see Smyth §2531; for the aor. as equivalent to English pf., Smyth §1940. For the fundamental role that vengeance plays in H. see Intr. §6a; cf. 64.1 n. This is the third statement by Mardonius that the Greeks owe reparation to the Persians (cf. 7.5.2, 9.2; 8.100.2) and it is both fitting and deeply ironic that these are his last words in the narrative; for it is he who ends up paying reparation to the Spartans for the death of Leonidas (64.1 n.).

59.1 δρόμωι 'at a run'; cf. βάδην, 57.1 n. There is an echo, and possible inversion, of the battle of Marathon here: in that earlier battle, the Athenians charged the Persians at a run (δρόμωι, 6.112.1–2).

διαβάντας τὸν Ἀσωπόν: the crossing of rivers is a significant motif in H., often revealing the hybris of the aggressor (Immerwahr 1966: 293–4; Lateiner 1989: 127–35; and cf. 114.2n). This particular crossing is magnified by the religious element, for although the Persians were not forbidden to cross the Asopus, the sacrifices indicated that they should not initiate an attack (37.1), and their error is manifest in the result that follows: destruction for them, safety for the Greeks who remained on their own side.

κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων 'on the track of the Greeks'; cf. 4.122.2.

ἐπεῖχε 'was aiming at', a rare meaning in H., but cf. 6.49.2; the verb generally means 'cover' (cf. 31.2n.) or 'wait'.

Ἀθηναίους γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδίον: the Athenians had descended from their position on Pyrgos hill and were now marching S.E. across the plain; cf. 56.2n.

59.2 διώκειν: after verbs of movement Homer and H. commonly use an infinitive to express purpose (Smyth §2009).

ἦραν τὰ σημήια 'raised the signals', i.e., for battle.

ὡς ποδῶν ἕκαστος εἶχον 'as fast as each could'; the sense is 'as much (control of) their feet as each possessed'; cf. 6.116 (of the Athenians hastening back to Athens after Marathon).

κόσμωι . . . τάξι: the first refers to the general comportment of the army, the results of planning, while the second is the particular battle-line position or formation.

βοῆι τε καὶ ὁμίλωι: the two datives are not exactly coordinate, the first of accompaniment ('with a shout'), the second descriptive ('in a mass'). Both words have Homeric associations: βοή is the battle-cry that attends the fight, while the ὅμιλος is the throng of fighters, as opposed to the nobles; similarly in H. ὅμιλος suggests an undisciplined rabble (cf. 3.81.1). Although H. speaks highly of the Persians as fighters (cf. 62.3n.), he considers their Asiatic allies an undisciplined mob that follows the Persians like sheep (cf. 67–68 for explicit criticism, and Intr. §3).

ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας 'thinking that they would snatch up the Greeks'; the verb ἀναρπάζω has the sense of seizing something in a rush (cf. Powell s.v., who translates here 'gobble up'); cf. 8.28 for the same construction.

60 *Message of Pausanias to the Athenians*

Pausanias now sends to the Athenians asking for assistance against the Persian attack; the Athenians attempt to help, but are prevented from doing so by the Thebans fighting on the Persian side. Like so much else in the *Histories*, this would have struck the reader contemporary with the Peloponnesian War as particularly ironic, since the Thebans began that war with a surprise attack on Plataea (Thuc. 2.1–7). Furthermore, the Corinthians, who were to do most to push the Spartans into the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 1.66–7), were among the Greeks who had 'abandoned' the Spartans and Athenians at Plataea. This message may thus be seen as a plea for the continued partnership of Athens and Sparta as leaders of Greece: see further Flower 2000: 78–80.

60.1 ἀγῶνος μεγίστου προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἢ δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα 'now that the greatest contest lies before us, whether Greece is to be free or enslaved'. Although Plataea is indeed the ἀγὼν μέγιστος (64.1 n.), similar calls for assistance and reminders of the importance of the contest appear before each of the major victories in H.: cf. Miltiades to Callimachus before Marathon (6.109.3), and Themistocles to Eurybiadas before Salamis, (8.60α).

τῶν συμμάχων . . . διαδράντων: the Greeks who failed to rendezvous at the appointed place (52).

60.2 δέδοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸ ποιητέον ἡμῖν 'it is clear what must henceforth be done by us': δέδοκται means literally 'it has been resolved', but the sense, as often with the perfect, has to do with the present; for τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, cf. 11.2n.

τῆι: sc. ὁδῶι, 'in which(ever) way'; cf. Smyth §346.

χρῆν ... βοηθέειν 'it would have been necessary ... to aid'; imperfects of verbs of obligation, propriety, or necessity with a complementary infinitive are often found without ἄν as the apodosis of an unreal condition: see *MT* §§418, 420.

τοὺς ... τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας: the Spartans had placed the Tegeans directly next to them (28.3n.), and they remained with the Spartans when the other contingents were sent ahead by Pausanias (61.2)

νῦν δέ 'but as it is'.

ἅπασα: sc. ἡ ἵππος.

δίκαιοί ἐστε ὑμεῖς ... ἰέναι 'it is right for *you* to come'; lit., 'you are right to come'; the personal construction for the impersonal with subject acc. (e.g. δίκαιόν ἐστι ὑμέας ἰέναι) is quite regular: Smyth §1982.

πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων 'to that one of the divisions that is being especially pressed'.

60.3 εἰ δ' ἄρα: see 45.2n.

καταλελάβηκε 'has befallen'; for the Ionic form, Int. §7.F.7; for this sense of καταλαμβάνω, Powell s.v. 3; cf. 49.1n. ἀδύνατόν τι is the subject, but here functions as if it were an abstract noun such as ἀδυνασίη: 'if some impossibility has befallen you yourselves', or, more literally, 'if something that makes it impossible for you to bring us help has overtaken you'.

ὑμεῖς δ': for δέ in an apodosis see 48.4n.

τοξότας: cf. 22.1n.

ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε 'store up favour [sc. with us by] despatching'; for the expression, cf. 107.3. The language here is of polite request, even though Pausanias, as commander-in-chief, could have simply ordered the Athenians; on this aspect of Pausanias' character, see Intr. §3.

συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ... ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοισι 'we are well aware that throughout this present war you have been by far the most zealous of all'. The sense of the verb here is 'we know this about you': 58.3n. On Athenian zealousness, see Intr. §3.

ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα τόνδε πόλεμον: for the temporal meaning of ὑπό see 51.4n.

ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακούειν 'such that you will indeed heed these things', i.e., our request for aid; for H.'s use of inf. after ὥστε to indicate actual result, see 37.3n.

61.1 ὁρμέατο βοηθέειν 'had set out to bring assistance'; for this sense of the verb, Powell, s.v. 2, and for its form, Intr. §7.F.1. The plupf. ὁρμέατο combined with ὡς ἐπύθοντο shows the instantaneous response of the Athenians, i.e., 'as soon as they learned, they were already on the way'; for the inf. of purpose see 59.2n.

καὶ τὰ μάλιστα 'and especially'; H. is fond of τά with this adverb; cf. 98.2; Powell, s.v. 5.

καί σφι ἤδη στίχουσι 'and while they were already on their way'; on στίχω see 11.2n.

οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων: these were the Boeotians and particularly the Thebans (cf. 67).

ὥστε . . . δύνασθαι: another inf. after ὥστε indicating actual result; cf. 60.3n.

τὸ . . . προσκείμενον 'the hard-pressing action [sc. of the enemy]'.

61.2–62.1 The Spartan delay

Since most Greeks believed that the gods communicated with men through divinatory sacrifices (cf. Xen. *Eq. mag.* 9.8–9), no Greek general would advance until the *sphagia* (41.4n.) proved favourable, and they were not always, or perhaps even usually, successful on the first try (Xen. *An.* 6.5.8). It may have been the case that Spartans were more dependent on divination than were other Greeks (so Parker 1988; but cf. Xen. *An.* 6.4.12–27); only one minor instance is known of a Spartan commander simply disregarding the omens (*hiera*): Anaxibius in 389 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.36), who was careless because he was marching through friendly territory (see Parker 1988: 157). Pausanias' action here is paralleled by that of Dercylidas in 399, who delayed his assault on Cebren for five days due to unfavourable omens, despite the fact that he was in a great hurry (*Hell.* 3.1.17–19). On the religious context of this scene, see Popp 1957: 51–3; Pritchett 1979: 78–9; Lazenby 241; Richer 1999. Some have suggested that Pausanias was consciously manipulating the omens and that his delay was actually motivated by strategic considerations, i.e. he was waiting until the enemy infantry were fully committed to a fight at close quarters in order to neutralise the Persian superiority in cavalry and archers (HW II. 314; Hignett 1963: 336; Burn 530, 538), but

religious and strategic considerations are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

61.2 **μουνωθέντες** 'isolated'; ironically, the battle does become the 'single-combat' that Mardonius had wanted (48.4), a culmination of that theme (although in the sense of one nation against another) found throughout Book 9: see 27.5n. The Tegeans have the same relationship to the Spartans as the Plataeans to the Athenians at Marathon.

ἐόντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν οἱ μὲν πεντακισμύριοι: 5,000 Spartiate hoplites, 5,000 Lacedaemonian (i.e. perioeci) hoplites, 35,000 helots in attendance on the Spartiates, 5,000 other light-armed (slaves or poor free-born) in attendance on the perioecic Lacedaemonians. H. may be doing no more than reiterating the numbers from 28–29 for dramatic effect; but if he is to be taken literally that all of these troops were massed together, this argues against the modern theory (28.2n.) that most (as opposed to some) of the light-armed troops were guarding the mountain passes and conveying supplies.

ἐσφαγιάζοντο 'were performing the *sphagia*', on which see 41.4n. Plutarch (*Arist.* 18) makes explicit what H. leaves unsaid, that it was the seer Teisamenus who actually conducted the sacrifice while Pausanias looked on. (Otherwise, as Jameson 1991: 207–8 demonstrates, Plut.'s elaboration of this scene at *Arist.* 17–18 has no independent value.)

61.3 **ἔπιπτον δ' αὐτῶν . . . πολλοί**: since H. later says that only 91 Spartiates were killed in this battle (70.5n.), he may be exaggerating for dramatic effect, or a large number of perioeci, who counted as Lacedaemonians, also fell. Helot losses were substantial enough to warrant a separate burial mound (cf. 85.1n.).

φράξαντες . . . τὰ γέρρα 'making a barricade of their wicker shields', by fixing them into the ground and shooting from behind them. For φράσσω as 'barricade', cf. 70.1n. At 7.61.1 H. notes that the Persians were armed with these wicker shields in place of the usual Greek ones of wood and bronze, but neither there nor here does he describe the shield since it was familiar to the Greeks. These light-weight shields were convenient for use in desert climates, but afforded little protection against heavily armed hoplites. Given that they were planted in the ground to form a kind of fence, they cannot have been of the small oval type which Diodorus (11.7.3) says the Persians used at Thermopylae and which are carried by the Persian guardsmen on the reliefs at Persepolis; rather, they were the large rectangular wicker shield as portrayed on the vase in the frontispiece of this volume.

ἀπίεσαν: on the form see Intr. §7.A.1.

οὕτω ὥστε . . . ἐπικαλέσασθαι: for the construction, 37.3n.

ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν 'called upon the goddess as his ally', the verb containing both the notion of 'invoking' a deity and 'summoning' one's allies. Plut. *Arist.* 18 gives a longer and different version of Pausanias' prayer, but this is most likely a later invention. Jameson 1991: 224 n. 22 suggests that the invocation of Hera shows that 'an element of local piety has crept into the story' as an explanation for Spartan delay, but given the extensive evidence for their piety (7.1 n.), there is no reason to doubt H.'s account.

62.1 προεξαναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεῆται 'the Tegeans standing up first out in front'; πρότεροι indicates that they did this ahead of the Spartans (as does the ἔτι just before), and might seem unnecessary in view of the προ- of the participle; but the sense of προεξαναστάντες is that the Tegeans stood up (ἀνά) with their weapons and moved out (ἐξ-) in front (προ-) of the Spartans. Either the Tegeans employed their own seer for whom the *sphagia* had proved favourable (Jameson 1991: 207), or the chain of command has broken down and they felt they could no longer endure the attack of the Persians.

αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν: at this point, after Pausanias' desperate plea to Hera, there must have been tremendous psychological pressure on Teisamenus to declare the *sphagia* favourable. There is no need to posit conscious manipulation, for techniques of divination are not entirely objective, and it must often have been the case that seers subjectively and subconsciously interpreted the sacrifices in accordance with what the situation demanded (Parker 1988: 157–60; Bradford 1992).

χρόνωι κοτέ 'at long last' (Powell s.v. χρόνος 4); the expression literally means 'at some time'.

ἐγίνετο: the subj. is σφάγια, with χρηστά the understood predicate ('the sacrifices were favourable').

καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι: 'and the Persians stood their ground opposite'; although there is no verb in the clause, the use of ἀντίοι, combined with the mention that the Persians discarded their bows, indicates that they were now planting themselves for hand-to-hand combat, ready to meet the charge of the Greeks.

μετέντες: for the lack of aspiration, Intr. §7.A.1.

62.2–65 The battle of Plataea

62.2 ἐπεπτώκεε 'were lying flat', lit. 'had fallen'.

χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν: battles with the Persians are always said to last a long time: see 6.113.1 (Marathon), and below 67, 70.2, 102.3, 119.2. This

particular motif, visible also in Aeschylus' *Persians*, where Salamis lasts from morn till night (428), is employed no doubt because 'fighting all day' is common in Homer (so J. Mossman ap. Pelling 1997b: 6 n. 18): cf. *Il.* 2.385, 11.279, et al. The length of the battle emphasises both its importance and its heroic nature. For possible connections with Simonides' Plataea elegy see App. A, F 17.

ἐς ὠθισμόν: the ὠθισμός was the close pushing *en masse* that followed in the later stages of a hoplite battle: see Pritchett, *GSAW* IV. 65–73. H. uses the word metaphorically above (26.1 with n.) and elsewhere refers to the struggle over the body of Leonidas as Περσέων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὠθισμὸς ... πολλός (7.225.1). H.'s statements are consistent with the heterodox theory of Cawkwell 1989 (*contra* Holladay 1982, Luginbill 1994: 54–5, who misconstrues this phrase, and Stylianou 1998: 552–5) that hoplite battles were not short in duration and that the ὠθισμός came late in the battle when one side became exhausted. The fighting, however, may not have followed the typical pattern of a hoplite battle, for the obvious reason that the Persians were not armed as hoplites (62.3). There is nothing, by the way, in H.'s description of the fighting to support Plato's claim (*Laches* 191 c) that feigned retreats were used by the Spartans at Plataea; Plato is probably confusing this battle with Thermopylae, where such tactics were effective in the narrow terrain: Lazenby 250.

τὰ γὰρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων 'for taking hold of the spears they kept breaking them off'; the γάρ here is the result of the narrator anticipating surprise on the part of the audience: given the conditions of the fighting, with the Persians so clearly under-armed (see 63.2n.), one would not expect that the battle would come to the ὠθισμός. Only the brave actions of the Persians brought it to that point (cf. Intr. §3).

62.3 λήματι ... καὶ ῥώμηι: the first term refers to the will or spirit, the second to their physical ability; for similar pairings of strength and spirit cf. 7.99.1 (Artemisia); Pind. *Nem* 1.56–7 (Heracles).

οὐκ ἥσσονες 'not inferior'. The judgement might have offended some members of his Greek audience, as it did Plut. (*Her. mal.* 873F-874A) some five centuries later. On the other hand, the tougher the opposition the more glorious and more 'heroic' the victory: Intr. §3. H.'s evaluation of Persian comportment at Plataea contradicts the oft-repeated modern view (cf. 122n.) that H. himself attributed the Persian defeat in 480–479 to the fact they, a once hard and tough people, had become soft through the acquisition of foreign luxury. In fact, H. nowhere suggests that either Mardonius himself

or his Persian troops were not tough fighters (cf. Intr. §3); rather, he explains the defeat of the Persians at Plataea in terms of 'military technology' (next n.).

ἄνοπλοι: it is unclear from the context whether this means 'without shields' or, more generally, 'without protective armour' (i.e. proper bronze-sheathed shields, bronze greaves, and bronze helmets); the latter is the more likely, since τὰ ὅπλα generally means 'implements of war', 'arms and armour' in classical Greek (see Lazenby and Whitehead 1996). The only difficulty is that H. had earlier said that the Persians and Medes wore breastplates made of quilted metal scales (7.61.1; 8.113.2), and these should have given them as much protection as the Greek composite corselet (cf. 63.2n.). On a symbolic level, the designation ἄνοπλοι also separates Greek from barbarian, for to be *anoplos* is to be not a hoplite, and thus not a citizen (Hartog 1988: 44–5). In many Greek cities (including Sparta) the enjoyment of full citizen status depended on the ability to provide hoplite armour for oneself.

καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες 'and in addition inexperienced', sc. of hoplite fighting techniques and tactics. H. cannot mean this categorically, since the valour and skill of the Persian cavalry (cf. 40; 68.1) and infantry (71.1; 102.3–4) are manifest throughout Book 9. Rather, they were 'untrained' in comparison to the Lacedaemonians, who devoted their entire way of life to military practice (Lazenby 1985: 3–4); cf. the same description of the Spartans at Thermopylae, 7.211.3: ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι. As the next sentence shows, the Persians, despite their personal valour, had no idea how to fight in close formation (cf. Lazenby 242–3). The narrator thus subtly reveals as empty Mardonius' earlier boast to Xerxes that the Persians understood the Greek manner of fighting (7.9α.1); cf. further Intr. §3.

οὐκ ὅμοιοι . . . σοφίην 'not similar in skill'; the suggestion that H. is punning here on *homoioi* as the term used for the Spartiate peers ('they were no Spartiates in skill': so Shimron 1979), is made less likely by a similar use of the adjective at 96.2.

προεξαΐσσοντες δὲ κατ' ἕνα καὶ δέκα 'and darting out in front either singly or in groups of ten'; on καὶ . . . καί as 'either . . . or', for the purpose of emphasising each member separately see Smyth §2877. The notion of a group of 'ten' echoes the earlier exchange, where Demaratus, when asked by Xerxes if he would be willing to fight alone against twenty men, says that he would be unwilling to fight 'with ten or two or even one' (7.104.3); cf. Fehling 1989: 227 for other examples of groups of ten.

καὶ πλεῦνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι 'and joining together in both greater and lesser numbers'.

63.1 ἀπ' ἵππου . . . λευκοῦ: the detail of Mardonius' white horse and its splendid caparison (λευκός here is not only 'white' but also 'resplendent, shining') adds a striking pictorial element to the narrative, and concentrates attention on the indispensable man. Unlike Xerxes at Thermopylae and Salamis, who is safely removed from the fray (7.212.1; 8.90.4), Mardonius behaves like a Homeric hero fighting in the midst of battle (cf. Intr. §3).

λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους 'the picked men of the Persians, the best thousand'; it is unclear whether these soldiers were infantry or cavalry: the fact that Mardonius himself was fighting on horseback cannot decide the issue. It is possible to connect them with τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλίην of 8.113 which Mardonius selected to be part of his army; yet given H.'s description of the fierce hand-to-hand fighting between the Persians and Spartans and the fact that Persian cavalry could not ride down an unbroken line of hoplites, it is more likely that they were one of the two chiliads of select infantry which formed part of Xerxes' special guard as his army marched out from Sardis in 481 (7.40–41). These infantry units were each accompanied by a chiliad of elite cavalry; possibly Mardonius retained one each of these infantry and cavalry units, and the two others returned home with Xerxes after Salamis.

ἐπίεσαν 'pressed hard' (Powell, s.v. πιέζω, 2).

63.2 ἀπέθανε . . . ἔπεσε . . . ἐτράποντο . . . εἶξαν: whereas the previous sentence used imperfects to emphasise the continuing action of the struggle, the aorists here mark the decisive single action of the loss of Mardonius and its immediate and immediately-felt consequences.

ἀπέθανε 'was killed': see 37.4n.

τὸ περὶ ἐκεῖνον τεταγμένον 'the unit that was stationed around him'.

ἐόν: for the form, Intr. §7.F.4.

ἔπεσε: as ἀποθνήισκω is used as the passive of ἀποκτείνω, so πίπτω can serve as the passive of καταβάλλω (cf. 7.211.3); cf. 67 below for a more general use.

οὕτω δή: cf. 6n.

ἡ ἐσθὴς ἔρημος ἐοῦσα ὅπλων: their outfit consisted of a soft hat called a tiara, a sleeved chiton, a corselet of iron scales, trousers, a wicker shield, a short spear, a large bow with a quiver, and a dagger (cf. H.'s description, 7.61). The corselet would have given as much protection as the Greek composite breastplate of linen or leather, and Persian spears were probably

only slightly shorter than the Greek ones (Lazenby 23–4, despite H. 7.211.2); but the lack of a proper helmet and sturdy shield was fatal. The heavy armour of the Greek hoplite, which weighed some 50–70 pounds (including weapons), was ideally suited for fighting against opposing infantry at close quarters. It consisted of a bronze helmet, a composite corselet, bronze greaves, and a bronze-faced wooden shield about 80 cm. in diameter (see Camp 1986: 71 for an illustration of one dedicated in the Stoa Poikile); his weapons were a thrusting spear (2.5–3 m. long) with an iron point, and a short iron sword (see *OCD*[3] *s.v.* 'hoplites'; Snodgrass 1967: 89–113).

γυμνῆτες 'light-armed soldiers', lit. 'naked ones'; only here in H.; the word is found in Tyrtaeus, *IEG*[2] F 11.35, where they are contrasted with 'those in full armour', the πάνοπλοι.

ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο 'they were battling'; the phrase used elsewhere only at 8.3.2, 26.3, 108.4); for the mixing of athletic and military language, 9.2n.

64.1 τε . . . καί: the coordination of these two clauses suggests that we are meant to see the retribution paid by Mardonius for the death of Leonidas as an essential element in the characterisation of Pausanias' victory as καλλίστη. Cf. 16.3n.

δίκη τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον 'retribution for the slaying of Leonidas in accordance with the oracle'. For retribution as fundamental to H.'s world-view, cf. Intr. §6a. The oracle, received by the Spartans after Salamis while Mardonius and Xerxes were in Thessaly, was that 'the Spartans should seek restitution for the murder of Leonidas and should accept whatever was given by the King'. When they demanded this of the King, he laughed and pointed to Mardonius, indicating that the latter would pay back whatever was fitting (8.114; this was the second prophecy of Mardonius' death: Intr. §3). For a full treatment of Plataea as retribution for Thermopylae, see Asheri 1998; cf. Dillery 1996: 242–5.

τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπετελέετο 'was being paid in full to the Spartiates by Mardonius'; see previous n.

νίκην ἀναιρέεται 'wins a victory'; the verb only here in H. with νίκη, the object more usually being ἀγῶνα (cf. 33.2) or Ὀλυμπιάδα; for sports and war, 9.2n.

καλλίστην ἁπασέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν: on the attraction of τῶν from its acc. case, see 58.4n.; on τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, 37.2n. In describing the victory as καλλίστη, H. has in mind not only the excellence of the achievement, but also the retribution that the Spartans had won, since the Greek 'fairest' victory contrasts strongly with the 'shameful' Persian treatment of

Leonidas's corpse (7.238.1; see Dover 1974: 69–72 for καλός as the opposite of αἰσχρός). The remark is striking in that H. considered Plataea, not Marathon or Salamis, not only the greatest victory of the Persian Wars, but also greater than any subsequent battle, either Greek against Persians or Greek against Greek. H. may be reacting to Simon.'s claim (F 5 = Plut. *Them.* 15.4) that no naval action more distinguished (λαμπρότερον) than Salamis had ever been accomplished by Greeks or barbarians.

Παυσανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω: on the 'formal' use of patronymics see 41.1 n. The double patronymic is especially solemn: cf. 1.45.3, Ἄδρηστος ... ὁ Γορδίεω τοῦ Μίδεω.

64.2 τῶν δὲ κατύπερθέ οἱ προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα 'the names of his ancestors before this', i.e., earlier than his grandfather Anaxandridas. H.'s only other temporal use of κατύπερθε is 5.28.

ἐς Λεωνίδην 'with respect to Leonidas', at 7.204; Leonidas was the son of Anaxandridas and thus Pausanias' uncle (see Fig. 1).

ἀποθνήισκει ... Μαρδόνιος: later writers gave different versions or added further details about Mardonius' death, but their testimony is of uncertain value. Ctesias has Mardonius die at Delphi in a hailstorm (*FGrHist* 688 F 13 §29); Plut. (*Arist.* 19.1) says that a Spartiate, Arimnestus, 'slew Mardonius by striking him on the head with a stone, just as the oracle of Amphiaraus had foretold to Mardonius'; and Aristodemus of Elis (?4th c. AD) says that Mardonius fell fighting with his head bare (*FGrHist* 104 F 2.5), but this is probably an attempt to explain Plut.'s account.

ὑπὸ Ἀειμνήστου: the form of the name is uncertain (see app. crit.), but the balance leans towards Aeimnestus: see Huxley 1963: 5–6; cf. Herman 1989: 93 n. 35. Although H. does not say so explicitly, Aeimnestus was surely a Spartiate (*pace* Macan ad loc. and Huxley 1963, who argue that he is the Plataean mentioned at 72.2) for at least two reasons: (1) the phrase ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτηι λογίμου without mention of his polis makes the inference obvious that he was a Lacedaemonian: cf. the identification of Chileus as ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης, δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μέγιστον ξείνων (9.1); (2) since in H.'s account only Spartans and Tegeans engaged with the Persians, a Plataean could not have been responsible for Mardonius' death. This figure must, therefore, be different from the Aeimnestus or Arimnestus of 72.2, who is identified as ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα (see n. there). For the possible relationship of this Aeimnestus to the one mentioned by Thuc. 3.52.5, see 72.2n. Cf. also App. B. Either form of the name is significant ('always remembered' or 'strongly remembered'), which reinforces the sense that Mardonius' death was retribution for Thermopylae: 64.1 n.; Dillery 1996: 243.

μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά 'after the Persian Wars'; for H.'s coalescence of Persian and Mede see 7α.1 n. Only here does H. use this phrase; in later writers it is the standard way of referring to the Persian conflict (e.g. Andoc. *Myst.* 77; cf. Thuc. 1.97.2, where he distinguishes between writers who composed τὰ πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν Ἑλληνικά and those who wrote αὐτὰ τὰ Μηδικά). When exactly *after* τὰ Μηδικά began for H. may be suggested by his own ending in 479 (see 121 n.).

ἔχων 'commanding'.

συνέβαλε ... Μεσσηνίοισι πᾶσι 'fought with ... all the Messenians'; in the helot revolt known as the Third Messenian War, 464–455 according to the standard chronology (Thuc. 1.103.1 with *CT* ad loc.). H. says '*all* the Messenians' to emphasise the contrast with the mere 'three hundred' of Aeimnestus. On the number 300 in H. see Fehling 1989: 222.

ἐν Στενυκλήρωι: Stenyclerus is the northern or upper plain of the Pamisos valley in Messenia.

65.1 **ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῆισι** 'but to return to Plataea', the narrator coming back, after the evaluation of 64 and the prolepsis on the fate of Aeimnestus, to the moments after Mardonius was killed.

ἔφευγον ... ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινόν: H. only mentions the flight here; he continues the narration at 70.1.

οὐδένα κόσμον 'with no order', an adverbial accusative (Smyth §1608).

ἐν μοίρηι τῆι Θηβαΐδι 'in Theban territory', i.e., the land in Boeotia controlled by Thebes, probably to distinguish it from the territory controlled by Plataea; for μοίρη in this sense cf. 5.57.1.

65.2 **θῶμα δέ μοι**: for marvels in H. see Harrison 2000: 64–101.

οὐδὲ εἷς ἐφάνη ... ἐναποθανών 'not even one of the Persians was seen to have gone into the precinct or to have died within'; the use of φαίνομαι with the participle here emphasises the manifestness of the marvel.

ἐν τῶι βεβήλωι 'on unconsecrated ground'; βέβηλος (only here in H.) derives from βαίνω (Chantraine, s.v.) and indicates 'that which can be trodden on': cf. Soph. *OC* 10, Oedipus asking Antigone to find a seat ἢ πρὸς βεβήλοις ἢ πρὸς ἄλσεσιν θεῶν, with Jebb ad loc.

εἴ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ: this cautionary clause indicates H.'s usual reticence in matters of religion (see e.g. 2.3.2, 2.65.2), esp. in the realm of supernatural activity: see Harrison 2000: 182–91.

ἡ θεὸς αὐτή: the intensifying pronoun suggests an active role by the goddess, but this is not epic, and H. leaves the 'mechanics' of such divine action to his audience to imagine. The sentiment here has much in common with H.'s belief that the Persians who drowned while besieging

Potidaea were punished by Poseidon for violating his temple and statue (8.129.3).

σφεας οὐκ ἐδέκετο 'refused them entrance'; for δέκομαι used of receiving a guest, see Powell s.v. 1.

ἐμπρήσαντας: causal: 'because they had burned'.

[τὸ ἱρὸν] τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ἀνάκτορον: either ἱρόν or ἀνάκτορον (only here in H.) is a gloss and the former, as the more common word, was probably inserted to explain the latter. Pollux (1.9) defines ἀνάκτορον as the ἄδυτον or the χωρίον ἄβατον τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Shear 1982 demonstrates that the archaic temple (apart from the *anaktoron*) was not destroyed by fire, but systematically demolished, probably during the 480s in order to make way for a much larger structure (which was never in fact built). H. was thus right to emphasise the Persian destruction of the *anaktoron* because that was the only part of the temple still standing when Eleusis was sacked.

66 *The flight of Artabazus*

Artabazus' failure to engage in the battle has been accounted problematic. Some account for his delay by noting that he had the farthest to go and had to climb the Asopus ridge (Hignett 337; Lazenby 243). It is certainly possible that Artabazus was proceeding cautiously and that he arrived too late to assist Mardonius; further speculation, however, that Artabazus' force was 'marked' by the contingents of the Greek centre (especially the Corinthians) who prevented him from joining the battle, is wholly incompatible with H.'s account (*pace* Burn 536–7). Whatever Artabazus actually did at Plataea, he seems not to have been held responsible for the defeat; H. earlier said that he was a man already renowned amongst the Persians, who became yet more so (μᾶλλον ἔτι γενόμενος) from the affairs at Plataea (8.126.1), and this is confirmed by the fact that Xerxes in the year after Plataea made him satrap of Dascylium (Thuc. 1.129.1).

66.1 αὕτη μέν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐγένετο '*this* battle then came to such a point', a sentence summing up the actions surrounding Mardonius before H. moves to the actions of Artabazus.

αὐτίκα . . . κατ' ἀρχάς 'from the very first'; cf. 103.2. H. did not mention Artabazus when Xerxes and Mardonius, at the suggestion of Artemisia, agreed that the latter would stay behind and make a renewed assault on Greece in the following year (8.100–103, 107, 113–115); this is the first time we learn that he was displeased with the plan from the outset, although

when he first appears at Plataea (41) he is already opposed to Mardonius' plans.

ἀπὸ βασιλέος: for ἀπό used of the agent, cf. *AGPS* §52.5.1.B; examples at Powell, s.v. VI.

καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν ἤνυε 'and at that time, although he (Artabazus) tried many times to dissuade him, he was in no way successful'; generally construed with complementary infinitive, ἀπαγορεύω is used absolutely only here and at 3.124.1 (πολλὰ... τῶν μαντίων ἀπαγορευόντων); τότε refers not to the present time of the narrative (i.e., the battle going on) but rather to the occasions after Mardonius was left behind; the sense is 'thereafter', contrasting with κατ' ἀρχάς.

συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἐῶν 'advising him not to attack'; on this use of ἐάω, see 1.2n.

66.2 εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν... περὶ ἑωυτόν: in the previous year Artabazus had escorted Xerxes back to Asia with 60,000 of Mardonius' picked men. H. says that he suffered considerable losses during the siege of Potidaea, and that he rejoined Mardonius with those who had survived (8.126–9). The detail of his troop strength is part of H.'s technique of narrative delay: see Intr. §2.

ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων 'to the number of 40,000 men'; cf. 30n.

ὅκως: here = ὡς ('when'), a rare usage, only here and at 7.229.1.

εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος: strongly formulated, with both the adverb and the intensifying prefix ἐξ-. Artabazus has already been characterised as knowing more accurately than Mardonius (41.4n.).

κατηρτισμένους 'in good order', i.e., in battle arrangement; the antecedent is τούτους.

κατὰ τὠυτό ἰέναι... τῆι 'to go exactly where'; cf. 53.1n.

ὅκως ἂν αὐτὸν... ἔχοντα 'with the same speed as they saw him', lit. 'how they should see him holding of speed'; the asyndeton is somewhat harsh and Stein's <καὶ> ὅκως may be correct.

66.3 ὡς ἐς μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν 'he pretended to lead them into battle'; the particle δῆθεν implies falsity: cf. 99.3.

προτερέων δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὥρα: perhaps from the crest of the Asopus ridge.

καὶ δή = ἤδη.

οὕτω δή: see 6n.

τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον: adverbial acc.: see 65.1n.

τὴν ταχίστην ἐτρόχαζε φεύγων . . . ὡς τάχιστα: remarkable for the emphasis on speed. For τὴν ταχίστην, cf. 41.2n.; τροχάζω (only here in H.) is the frequentative form of τρέχω, and so has the sense 'run quickly' or 'make with all speed'. The words give a strong sense of panic and flight (1 n.), as if Artabazus cannot get away fast enough: cf. 86n.

ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπικέσθαι: so that the Persian fleet could ferry him across, as they had done for Xerxes the previous winter (8.113–117).

67–69 Actions of the Persian allies and Greek centre

67 **χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν**: the same phrase at 119.2, but cf. 102.3; for battles lasting a long time, cf. 62.2n.

οἱ . . . μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων: the strongest indication (cf. 86.1 n.) in H. that there was also a non-medising party in Thebes. Although Thuc. has speakers from Thebes claim that only the ruling clique actively medised (Thuc. 3.62.3–4, quoted at 86.1), H. portrays the Thebans collectively as eager medisers (see next n.), and their sole participation on the Greek side, at Thermopylae, is only under compulsion (7.205, 222, 233). Diod., by contrast (11.4.7), asserts that there was an anti-Persian party at Thebes and implies that the 400 Thebans who fought at Thermopylae went voluntarily (see Flower 1998: 371).

εἶχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην: for other passages emphasising the enthusiastic medism of the Thebans, cf. 2, 31.2, 40, 41.4, 87.2.

οὕτω ὥστε 'so much so that': cf. 37.3n.

οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι: used perhaps in both a political and a military sense.

ἔπεσον: cf. 63.2n.

τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων: sc. of the Persians.

ὁ πᾶς ὅμιλος: on the pejorative overtones of ὅμιλος see 59.2n. Here, as there, this denotes the Asiatic allies of the Persians.

οὔτε διαμαχεσάμενος οὐδενί 'neither fighting it through with anyone'; because H. focuses so intently on the actions of the Athenians, Spartans, and Persians, he leaves it unclear here whether these other Persian allies actually engaged with Greek forces; διαμαχεσάμενος might suggest that they began but did not finish (cf. 48.4n.), but πριν ἢ καὶ συμμῖξαι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι in 68 suggests strongly that they did not.

οὔτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος 'nor accomplishing anything of note'; with τι understand ἔργον ἀξιόλογον or the like: cf. 71.3 (ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα); 72.2.

68 ἤρτητο ἐκ Περσέων 'had depended upon [lit. 'had hung from'] the Persians'; the passive phrase is common: for a similar use in a military context see 6.109.6 (Miltiades to Kallimachos): ταῦτα ὦν πάντα ἐς σὲ νῦν τείνει καὶ ἐκ σέο ἄρτηται. (Powell wrongly places these examples s.v. ἀρτέομαι (= 'prepare for') rather than ἀρτάω, for which he has no entry).

εἰ καὶ τότε 'if, even at that time', i.e., at such a crucial time; although εἰ καί often = 'even if', the καί sometimes goes closely with the following word, as here: K-G II.489 n.1; *AGPS* §65.5.16.B. τότε is proleptic, referring to the πρίν clause that follows.

οὗτοι: sc. βάρβαροι.

πριν ἢ καὶ συμμῖξαι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι: on whether the troops actually fought, cf. 67n.

ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὥρων 'since they saw the Persians fleeing too'; φεύγοντας has to be supplied with Πέρσας.

τῆς τε ἄλλης: i.e., the Persian allies.

τοσαῦτα: anticipates the participial clause that follows: 'so much, by . . .'.

πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων 'on the side facing the enemy'; this sense of πρός + gen. is rare in prose.

ἀπέργουσά τε τοὺς φιλίους φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων 'and keeping their friends, as they were fleeing, away from the Greeks', where English might have said 'keeping the Greeks away from their friends'.

οἱ . . . νικῶντες 'the victors', primarily the Lacedaemonians; H. resumes from 65.1 the narrative of the Greek rout of the barbarians.

τοὺς Ξέρξεω: sc. στρατιώτας. It is curious that H. should refer to them at this point in such a manner. Xerxes has been long out of the picture, and the focus has been on Mardonius throughout this book; but here at the point of the 'fairest victory' we are reminded of the grand commander who is paying for his crimes against Greece (and Leonidas: 79.2n.), and whose glorious arrival in Greece ends in ignominious flight and slaughter: see 70.1–5n.

69.1 ἐν δὲ τούτωι τῶι γινομένωι φόβωι 'and during the flight that took place'; for ἐν = 'during' see 8.1n.; φόβος here = 'flight' or 'rout', its primary sense in Homer: see e.g. *Il.* 12.144.

ἀγγέλλεται: impersonal. According to Plut. *Arist.* 17.6–7, Pausanias, under pressure of the moment, forgot to give the battle signal to the Greeks and so they arrived late and in small groups; this detail is surely Plut.'s own

invention to exonerate the contingents of the Greek centre for missing the battle.

τοῖσι . . . περὶ τὸ Ἥραιον τεταγμένοισι: these are the Greeks who marched beyond the place where Pausanias had ordered them to move (52).

ὅτι μάχη τε γέγονε καὶ νικῷεν οἱ μετὰ Παυσανίεω 'that there has been a battle, and Pausanias' men are victorious'; for the change in indirect discourse from indic. to opt., see 8.100.1, and above, 42.1 for the opposite. For the sense of νικάω as 'to be victorious' cf. below, 76.1; cf. 8.94.3 for a similar message during the battle of Salamis to the Corinthians.

οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες: the rush of these troops was possibly due to their shame at missing the battle, especially considering that they had disobeyed orders. Given that the same terms were used for the barbarians (59.2 with n.), there is little doubt that H. meant to portray these Greeks negatively.

οἱ . . . ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους 'the Corinthians and those with them', i.e., those stationed around them (for ἀμφί in this sense, Powell s.v. 2); following the enumeration of 28.3–4, they were the right centre of the line. This is the first mention of them since they disobeyed Pausanias' orders and marched beyond the Island (52). H. does not mention the Corinthians again in his narrative of this campaign, nor does he assign them a grave (85), thus implying that they did not engage the enemy. Their inglorious action here seems in sharp contrast with how they were portrayed by Simonides: see App. A, F 15, and for their characterisation generally, Intr. §3.

τὴν φέρουσαν ἄνω ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱροῦ '(taking) the road that leads straight toward the sanctuary'. The use of ἰθύς + gen. (= 'straight at/towards') is Homeric (cf. *Il.* 5.849, 20.99, et al.), and a favourite of H.: see Powell, s.v., and below, 89.4.

οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλειασίους: this was the left centre (28.4–6).

τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν ὁδῶν 'the flattest of the roads'; λεῖος is generally used of a flat (πεδίον, 2.29.3) or untroubled (θάλασσα, 2.117) surface.

69.2 τῶν ἱππάρχεε Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου: the antecedent of τῶν is ἱππόται; the name of the hipparch ('gift of the Asopus') is remarkably evocative in this context. He is perhaps the same man for whose victory in the chariot race Pindar composed *Isth.* 1. Pind. says that Asopodorus was shipwrecked 'in chilling misfortune' (37–8), possibly a reference to the Greek treatment of Thebes after the war (86–88n.), and that his paternal soil was Orchomenos (35). Given that Thersander, one of H.'s few named

informants (16.1 n.), was from the same place, H. may have learned the name and fame of this hipparch there.

κατεστόρεσαν 'overwhelmed'; the simple verb στόρνυμι (cf. 82.2) means to 'strew' or cover, whence καταστορέννυμι = 'cover over' (cf. *Il.* 24.798) and, by extension, to overwhelm or 'lay low'; it is not attested in a military context before H.

70 *The attack on the Persian palisade*

H. refers to this attack on the Persian palisade as a τειχομαχίη (70.2: this is the first appearance of the noun in Greek), which generally refers to an assault on the walls of a town. From at least the time of Plato (*Ion* 539b), *Il.* 12, in which the Trojans storm the camp of the Achaeans and tear down the wall they had erected, was known as the Τειχομαχία. Like an Iliadic battle, H.'s account has a long and drawn out siege (70.2 with n.); by contrast with the *Il.*, however, when the wall here falls, the inhabitants are beside themselves with fear (70.4 with n.), and slaughter prevails. In these aspects, H.'s account prefigures the more developed accounts of later historians (on which see Paul 1982).

70.1 ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγωι 'in no account', i.e. 'doing nothing worthy of reckoning'; cf. λόγου πλείστου, 32.1. In keeping with his general bent, H. gives most of the credit for victory in the major battles to Sparta and Athens (Intr. §2). Yet H.'s judgement is at variance with how the Megarians themselves remembered this engagement: an inscription of the 4th c. AD (*IG* VII. 53 = *FGE* XVI) purports to be the re-inscription of an epitaph composed by Simonides for the Megarians who fought in the Persian Wars and engraved on their cenotaph in Megara. The epitaph, which, even if not by Simon., may go back to the 5th c. (*FGE* 214; cf. further Molyneux 1992: 197–201) commemorates all those who 'received the portion of death to preserve the day of freedom for Hellas and the Megarians', and lists the places of the battles in which they perished, including Plataea: 'Some died in the Boeotian plain, those who dared | to lay hands on horse-fighting men' (7–8). Plut. *Her. mal.* 872C also mentions the Megarians, but he does not defend them nor cite these lines. The assertion of Burn 537 and Green 267–8 that these Megarians deliberately set out to save the Athenians from the Theban cavalry (a fact which the Athenians later attempted to conceal because of their hatred for Megara), is unlikely, given that cavalry did not play a role in pitched hoplite battles (Lazenby 244).

ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος: the Persian allies: 67n.

κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος: in the prophecy from Delphi received by the Athenians before Salamis, Apollo tells them that their preservation lies in a wooden wall (7.141.3). The actual phrase τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος appears four times in 7.142–143, and again at 8.51.2, where the temple treasurers and some of the poor citizens, misunderstanding the oracle (which Themistocles had interpreted as referring to the Athenian ships), believe that a wooden wall around the acropolis would be their κρησφύγετον (15.2 with n.). So too here at Plataea, Mardonius builds a κρησφύγετον, but this does not save the Persians from slaughter; cf. 97.1, for another failed κρησφύγετον made of wood.

ἐφράξαντο 'fenced' or 'fortified'; it is not clear what type of fencing or fortification of the wall H. can here be envisioning, given that the Lacedaemonians are hot on their trail.

κατεστήκεέ σφι τειχομαχίη ἐρρωμενεστέρη 'the battle for the wall became very intense for them'; for the construction cf. 1.81.

70.2 ἕως μέν: answered below by ὡς δέ; οἱ δ' is in apodosis (48.4n.).

οἱ δ' ἠμύνοντο καὶ πολλῶι πλέον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων 'they [sc. those behind the wall] continued to keep them off, and they got much the better of the Lacedaemonians.'

ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχέειν 'in as much as they did not know how to conduct a siege'. The inability of the Spartans to breach the Persian stockade should be read in light of two later failures: they could not take Plataea by siege in 429–427 (Thuc. 2.75–7 narrates a series of ultimately ineffective stratagems), and in 462 they failed to capture the rebel Messenians on Mt Ithome. In the latter, Thuc. (1.102.1–2) claims that the Spartans requested the help of the Athenians because they 'were thought to be capable in siege operations (τειχομαχεῖν)'; although this reputation may have been genuine in 462 (the Athenians had just concluded the two-year siege of Thasos), it was hardly true in 479. It looks as if H. read this earlier τειχομαχίη at Plataea, which was successful because the Athenians and Spartans worked together, in light of the later Spartan failure to capture Ithome without their Athenian allies (cf. Thuc. 1.102–3).

οὕτω δὴ ἰσχυρὴ ἐγίνετο τειχομαχίη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν 'then indeed the assault on the wall became very fierce and lasted a long time'; for οὕτω δή after a dependent clause, see 6n.; on χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, 67n.

ἀρετῆι τε καὶ λιπαρίηι 'by bravery and persistence', the same words used by the Megarians of themselves at 21.2 (with n.).

ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τείχεος καὶ ἤριπον 'the Athenians mounted the wall and threw it down'; ἐρείπω, which is Homeric (*Il.* 12.258, 15.361) occurs only here and 1.164.1.

70.3 πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον Τεγεῆται ἐς τὸ τεῖχος: it was a particularly distinguished thing to be the first inside the enemy's wall, and the Tegeans display here the excellence that they claimed at 26–7. It is strange that the Athenians breached the wall, but the Tegeans first entered the palisade; it is very likely that H. has overlaid an original tradition – that the Tegeans actually breached the wall, which is suggested by the exceptional booty that they dedicated in their temple (see next n. but two) – with a more contemporary belief in the superiority of Athenian ability at capturing walls (70.2n.).

τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου: there was a tradition that this was the tent of Xerxes, which he had left behind in his flight (82.1).

οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ διαρπάσαντες: also a particular mark of distinction, and presumably not open to question, since the Tegeans dedicated this in their own name (see below).

καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἵππων, ἐοῦσαν χαλκέην πᾶσαν καὶ θέης ἀξίην: like the horse of Mardonius (63.1), the manger is remarkable for its beauty, but the fact that even the Persian horses ate from bronze is another reminder of their wealth (a theme taken up below, 82n.; for the importance of food, 82.2n.). The phrase need not imply autopsy (cf. 25.1 n.), though given H.'s time in Lacedaemon (where he met the Spartan Archias: cf. 53.2n.) he may well have seen the manger.

τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης: H. has mentioned this temple of Athena Alea at 1.66.4 where he notes that the fetters of the Spartans, with which they had hoped to enslave the Tegeans, still stood as a dedication 'in my time'; it is quite possible that H. actually visited the temple. In Paus.'s time the original temple had long disappeared, burnt down by a fire in 395/4, but he remarks that the original temple was 'large and wonderful to behold' (8.45.4) and this has been verified by excavation: see Østby 1994. The epithet Ἀλέη for Athena is probably to be associated with the city of Alea in Arcadia (Paus. 8.23.1), whence her worship spread to Amyclae, Mantinea, and Tegea: see Nilsson 1951: 434.

ἐς τὠυτό . . . τοῖσι Ἕλλησι 'into the common stock of the Greeks'.

70.4 οὐδὲν ἔτι στῖφος ἐποιήσαντο 'no longer maintained their battle formation'; on στῖφος see 57.1 n.

οὔτε τις αὐτῶν ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο: on ἀλκή see 18.2n.; 'remembering' or 'forgetting' one's ἀλκή occurs frequently in Homer: cf. the rallying cry

of both Greeks and Trojans, μνήσασθε... θούριδος ἀλκῆς (*Il.* 6.112), and its opposite, λάθοντο... θούριδος ἀλκῆς (15.322).

ἀλύκταζον 'they were beside themselves'; exceedingly rare (only here in H.), possibly a frequentative form of ἀλύω ('to wander in mind', cf. Chantraine, s.v.), cf. Bacchyl. 11 93 where the daughters of Proetus 'wandered distractedly (ἠλύκταζον) through the dark-shaded wood'. The confusion and despair are another mark of the typical sacking of a city (70.1–4n.).

οἷα ἐν ὀλίγωι χώρωι πεφοβημένοι τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατειλημέναι ἀνθρώπων 'in as much as they were terrified and myriads of people were trapped in a small space'. κατειλημέναι ('cooped up' < κατειλέω) better serves the sense here than κατειλημμέναι ('captured' < καταλαμβάνω), since the emphasis is not on the fact that they have been captured, but rather that they are hemmed in with nowhere to flee. The glorious expedition of the Persians, dazzling with men and wealth (7.20.2), is now reduced to men penned up and seized with fear, who become easy prey for Greek slaughter. To such a point has Persian hybris come. Thuc. in his narrative of the Sicilian disaster similarly has a grand and glorious expedition end up with men terrified and slaughtered (7.75–87 with Connor 1984: 202–9).

70.5 τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ... μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι: The Greeks may well have taken only 3,000 prisoners, but they could not have slain 257,000 men on a single day. While it is probable that they counted the prisoners (for purposes of distribution as spoils), it is not very likely that they had the time or energy to count the Persian dead. H. in fact derives his tally by subtracting the number of prisoners from other (allegedly) known numbers. The casualty figures in later sources are likewise mere guesses. Diod. (11 32.5) improbably claims that Pausanias gave the order not to take prisoners and that the Greeks slew more than 100,000 of the enemy. Ctes. (*FGrHist* 688 F 13.30) gives Persian losses in all the battles that took place after Salamis as 120,000. The most we can say is that Persian losses were substantial, as reflected in the reference at Aesch. *Pers.* 818 to 'piles of corpses' (θῖνες νεκρῶν). There are, however, parallels for such lopsided casualty figures such as Agincourt in 1415, where an advance in military technology (the English used the long bow) brought similar results: 25,000 French engaged with 5,700 English archers; 8,000 French were slain and 2,000 taken prisoner, while only 400 English were killed – and this despite the fact that the English had no cavalry: see Keegan 1976: 78–116. Although the Persian army cannot have been nearly

as large as H. claims (see 32.2n.), it is quite possible that the superiority of Greek weapons and armour led to a similar disparity in casualty ratios.

Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης: 'a remarkable periphrasis for Σπαρτιητέων' (Macan 745). H. gives only the number of Spartiates (full citizens) who were killed: either he did not know or did not care to give the number of perioeci, or possibly none were slain (see below). H. similarly gives exact casualty figures for the Athenian dead at Marathon (6.117.1), and he claims to know the names of all 300 Spartiates who fought at Thermopylae (7.224.1).

οἱ πάντες 'in all'. H.'s total of 159 might seem suspiciously low, but cf. previous n. but one. Diod. (11.33.1) states that more than 10,000 Greeks were killed, which is at the other extreme of plausibility, even if this number implicitly includes helots and other light-armed troops. Plut. (*Arist.* 19.4–6) takes issue with H.'s claim that only three cities participated in the final battle and as part of his refutation gives 1,360 as the total number of slain Greeks. Nevertheless, he repeats H.'s specific figures, merely adding, on the authority of the 4th-c. Atthidographer Cleidemus (*FGrHist* 323 F 22), that all 52 Athenians belonged to the tribe Aeantis. Although it is not impossible that 1,360 represents all those who fell on the last day (if we throw in perioeici, helots, and Athenians from other tribes), it is far more likely that this number either is the total for the entire campaign (and not just for the final battle) or is an invention along the lines suggested by Hignett 340–1. If so, H. does not mention perioecic casualties because no perioeci, or at least no significant number of them, were slain, probably because they were still at this date brigaded separately from Spartiates and thus fought in the rear ranks (Cartledge 1979: 255–7).

ἐν τῆι συμβολῆι: this refers exclusively to the final engagement on the thirteenth day; it does not include allied casualties on the previous twelve days of skirmishing.

71–85 Aftermath of the Battle of Plataea

As is customary in H.'s campaign narratives, the battle is followed by mention of individuals and peoples who fought with conspicuous bravery or cowardice (71–75n.) and by description of unusual, marvellous, or simply noteworthy occurrences. Even so, the aftermath of Plataea, as Immerwahr 1966: 297 remarks, is unique in the nature and number of these incidents, possibly so as to emphasise the magnitude of this crowning victory: this is,

after all, the only Greek victory on land in mainland Greece in the battles of 480–79, and the first land victory by any Greeks over Persians since Marathon more than a decade before. The post-battle section is dominated by the actions of the victorious general Pausanias (76–82 n.), but H. also treats briefly the contingents who arrived too late to take part in the battle, the booty and dedicatory offerings; and the tombs set up for the fallen.

71–75 Honours awarded to the best fighters

In the aftermath of the battle, H. in his usual way (cf. 8.11, 17, 93, 123, and below, 105) records the bravest of the combatants. The general arrangement here follows 8.17 where first barbarian then Greek forces are mentioned. The *aristeia* was an official award for valour in battle, accorded by formal vote to both the best city (cf. 8.93, 122) and the best individual (cf. 8.11.2, 123.1). It is unclear throughout whether ἀριστεύειν (more common than the noun) refers to an official award or merely an informal opinion (as is evidently the case here: see 71.2n.). Other sources confirm that *aristeia* were regularly awarded to individuals (cf. esp. Plato *Symp.* 220d); but it is peculiar that collective *aristeia* (i.e., to the city which had most distinguished itself in a battle) are found only in connection with the Persian Wars. The fullest study is Pritchett, *GSAW* II.276–90 (with a complete list of awards in H. at 285); cf. also Hamel 1998: 64–70.

71.1 ἠρίστευσε 'was the bravest'; cf. 17.4n.

ἵππος δὲ ἡ Σακέων: they do not figure in the previous narrative, yet another indication of how selective and streamlined H.'s account is.

λέγεται: obviously by Greeks. Although Xerxes is said to have ordered his scribes to write down the names of those ship captains who distinguished themselves at Salamis (8.90.4; cf. 7.100; 8.17; 8.85), no Persians survived to judge the relative merits of the barbarian contingents and commanders at Plataea.

ὑπερεβάλοντο 'excelled'; cf. 26.1n.

ἀρετῆι: cf. 21.2n.

71.2 ἄλλωι μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω ἀποσημήνασθαι 'by nothing else am I able to prove this'; ἀποσημαίνω means 'to announce by signs or signals', and so to establish by proofs or evidence. H.'s argument presupposes that no official decision was made. According to Diod. 'on the urging of Aristides they judged that the best city was Sparta and that the best man was Pausanias' (11.33.1), yet Diod. (or possibly Ephorus) has probably transformed

H.'s opinion into a fact. Plut. (*Arist.* 20; cf. *Her. mal.* 873A) says that the Athenians and Spartans would have come to blows in their dispute over the *aristeia* had not Aristides intervened and persuaded his fellow generals to refer the decision to the Greeks, whereupon it was awarded to the Plataeans. Yet if the Plataeans had indeed been awarded the *aristeia*, one would expect some mention of it elsewhere, especially in their defence speech to the Spartan judges at Thuc. 3.53–9; and H. too could have mentioned it without the accompanying dispute. So here, as elsewhere, there are no grounds for using Plut. to correct H.; Plut. may in fact depend on Idomeneus of Lampsacus, even though he is not named (Intr. §5d).

ὅτι δὲ 'than that'.

κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον 'opposite the strongest part' (sc. of Mardonius' forces).

Ἀριστόδημος . . . ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων: cf. 7.229–31 (with a forward reference at 7.231 to the action here), where in fact H. gives two versions, although both have the common motif that Aristodemus fails to take part in the battle while a comrade does; for his punishment see below, next n. but two. The details that H. reveals about Aristodemus' activities suggest that he was a much-remembered figure.

κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας: H. prefers the singular of this expression (2.26.1, 4.59.2, 5.3.1, et al.), but cf. 4.53.1 for the plural.

μοῦνος . . . σωθείς 'alone survived'; the participle is causal, since his dishonour was the direct result of not perishing with the rest. Despite the use of μοῦνος here, H. knew the report at least of another survivor from Thermopylae (7.232).

εἶχε ὄνειδος καὶ ἀτιμίην: cf. 7.231, 'None of the Spartans would give him a light, or speak to him, and Aristodemus had the reproach of being called the trembler.' Spartan ἀτιμία (loss of civic rights) included a type of shunning (as still practised among the Amish of Pennsylvania and Ohio: see Hostetler 1993: 85–7) in addition to legal disabilities (Xen. *Lac.* 9.4–6; Thuc. 5.34.2; Plut. *Ages.* 30.3–4; with MacDowell 1986: 44–6), and so differs in character from the purely civic *atimia* imposed at Athens during the classical period (on which see MacDowell 1978: 73–5). Significantly, Spartan *atimia* did not bar Aristodemus from fighting in the front rank of the Lacedaemonian phalanx.

Ἀμομφάρετος: we are not surprised to learn that this epic-like figure (see 53.2n.) was amongst the best fighters – nor indeed, given his resolve, that he would die.

Σπαρτιῆται: the MSS have Σπαρτιήτης but there seems no reason to distinguish Amompharetus in this way from the others (cf. 85.1–2); Stein's ὁ Πιτανήτης deserves consideration.

71.3 γενομένης λέσχης 'when there was a discussion'. For λέσχη used in the sense of a formal discussion, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 160–1. There were clubhouses (λέσχαι) at Sparta and Delphi that served as locales for such discussions (Paus. 3.14.2, 10.25.1, who specifically notes that 'rather serious matters', τὰ σπουδαιότερα, are discussed in them), but οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων suggests that this discussion took place at Plataea after the battle itself. For more on *leschai*, see Buxton 1994: 40–4.

ὅς γένοιτο: for ὅς in an indirect question instead of the expected ὅστις see Smyth §2668, who notes that the simple relatives are found after verbs of saying (cf. λέσχη), knowing, etc.; the verb is in the opt. following a secondary tense (γενομένης).

ἔγνωσαν 'they decided' (Powell, s.v. III).

βουλόμενον . . . λυσσῶντά . . . ἐκλείποντα: the first participle is causal, the second and third circumstantial.

αἰτίης 'charge', with some sense too of 'blame'; cf. 71.4n.

λυσσῶντα 'raging': in Homer, λύσσα indicates the 'rage' of the warrior (*Il.* 9.237–9, of Hector; 21.542, of Achilles), and denotes a stage beyond rational calculation: see further *LfgrE* s.v. Such behaviour cannot be tolerated in Sparta, where discipline and order are necessary for victory. The Spartans' 'discussion' here anticipates the later philosophical debate over the nature of true bravery, and the necessary mental disposition one must have to be judged brave: see Plato *Rep.* 429b-430c, esp. 430b; Arist. *EN* 1115b15- 1116a15; some hints of this already at Thuc. 2.40.3, where Pericles rejects boldness based on ignorance: see Sharples 1983, and on the whole topic of the relationship between intelligence and courage, Saïd 1980.

ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα: cf. 27.5n. The Spartans concede his brave actions, but judge them less important than the mental state in which he performed them: one who is out of his mind (ἔκφρων) cannot be said to be brave.

ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν 'was the man who was (actually) brave'; for the expression, cf. 18.3n.

71.4 φθόνωι 'from envy'; φθόνος has negative overtones, connoting the desire to deprive someone of something, as opposed to ζῆλος ('rivalry', 'emulation'), which suggests competition without malice; cf. Plato *Menex.* 242a. Envy plays a similar role in the awarding of honours after Salamis,

where Themistocles is deprived of the rightful first prize by the decision of each commander to vote himself bravest (8.123–124.1). For a full treatment of the topic, see Walcot 1978.

τίμιοι: the adjective is more often applied to objects in H. with the sense of 'valuable' or 'precious' (e.g. 3.84.1); only here in H. does it mean 'honoured'; cf. *Od.* 10.38 for a similar sense. The nature of these honours is not specified: it cannot (*pace* Macan 748 and HW 317) refer to funerary honours, such as a public funeral, grave monument, and offerings at the tomb, since all of the allied dead were so treated (Thuc. 3.58.4; Plut. *Arist.* 21). H. may mean that they also received a cenotaph and/or heroic honours at Sparta, or he may simply be referring to oral commemoration.

αἰτίην: cf. αἰτίης, 71.3n.

72.1 Καλλικράτης γὰρ: the way that Callicrates is introduced here indicates that he was a well-known figure: the γάρ suggests 'Callicrates did not come into account because . . . '.

ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγιάζετο Παυσανίης: Callicrates is thus one of the 'many' wounded when Pausanias was waiting for favourable omens (61.3); he is introduced here where it has most relevance (narrative delay, cf. Intr. §2).

κατήμενος 'sitting': the Spartans probably crouched on the ground under cover of their shields while Pausanias was sacrificing; cf. Plut. *Arist.* 17.7.

τὰ πλευρά: 22.1n.

72.2 οἱ μὲν ἐμάχοντο: i.e. the rest of the Spartans, understanding ἄλλοι.

ἐξενηνειγμένος 'carried out', i.e., from the battle.

ἐδυσθανάτεε . . . ἔλεγε: the imperfects here portray vividly the struggle of Callicrates: there is a suggestion in ἔλεγε of a repeatedly voiced regret; for δυσθανατέω ('struggle against death') cf. Plato *Rep.* 406b. Since the Plataeans were stationed on the left wing with the Athenians, we are probably meant to imagine that this conversation took place after the battle was over.

Ἀρίμνηστον ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα: as at 64.2 the question of the correct form of his name arises; this is not the same man as there, since that person was a Spartiate (see 64.2n.). Plut. *Arist.* 11.5 says that this Arimnestus was 'the general of the Plataeans', and Paus. 9.4.2 says that in the temple of Athena Areia at Plataea 'there is a likeness of Arimnestus at the feet of the cult statue; Arimnestus commanded the Plataeans in the battle against Mardonius and earlier still at Marathon.' JM thinks that these details about Arimnestus' generalship are later inferences from the text of H., and that it

would have been easy for H. to denote Arimnestus' capacity as commander by some word other than ἄνδρα. MAF, following Paus.'s testimony, accepts the fact that Arimnestus was Plataean commander, and points out that H. names only Pausanias and Aristides as commanders, not the generals of the other Greek allies. Whether the person here is the father of the Lacon mentioned by Thuc. (3.52.5) is uncertain: for discussion see Hornblower, *CT* 1.443–4; Huxley 1963: 6; Herman 1989: 92–3.

οὐ μέλειν οἱ 'it was no concern to him'.

ἀποθνήισκει: the vivid present.

οὐδέν ἐστί οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένον ἔργον ἑωυτοῦ ἄξιον: cf. 27.5n. and 71.3n.; the complaint that he had done nothing 'worthy of himself' shows a heroic spirit that is conscious of its own excellence (cf. next n.). Although Callicrates was unable to display deeds of valour (ἔργα μεγάλα), H. nevertheless grants him κλέος by recording his noble sentiments and intentions; his interlocutor's name – 'strongly remembered' (cf. 64.2n.) – is evocative.

προθυμευμένου: concessive: 'although he was eager', just as Homeric warriors are portrayed as being eager (rather than simply willing) to fight: cf., e.g., *Il.* 2.588–90.

73.1 εὐδοκιμῆσαι 'to have been distinguished' (LSJ, s.v. I.1) rather than 'to have enjoyed good repute' (Powell); the word may be seen as equivalent to ἀριστεύσας (74.1) which H. uses of Sophanes when he resumes the thread of the narrative.

ἐκ δήμου Δεκελεῆθεν 'from the village of Decelea'; δῆμος is the technical term for the 139 villages (ranging in size from tiny hamlets to substantial towns) of the Attic countryside which, after the reforms of Cleisthenes in 508/7, determined Athenian citizenship (see *OCD*³, s.v. Cleisthenes (2)). In Athenian usage Δεκελεῆθεν by itself would have been sufficient to designate a person's deme, but δῆμος does not always have this technical sense in H., who uses it generally for 'village': cf. 1.170.3 (Ionia); 3.55.2 (Laconia), 5.92γ.1 (Corinth).

Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν κοτε 'and the Deceleans who once'; the gen. is still dependent on ἐκ. Since there was no particular reason to give Sophanes' deme affiliation (H. does not do so in the case of other Athenians), and since Sophanes has nothing to do with the story that follows, it looks as if H. wants the opportunity to tell the following narrative of Theseus, in which the earlier invasion by the Peloponnesians serves as a mythical paradigm for the later one, and seems to suggest that Spartan–Athenian conflict, whether past or future, is a constant (cf. 35.2n.).

χρήσιμον: see 27.1 n., where the Athenians similarly put down an act of hybris.

ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι: on source citations in H. see Intr. §4.

73.2 κατὰ Ἑλένης κομιδήν 'for their recovery of Helen'. Theseus and his comrade Pirithous, seeking wives for themselves, seized Helen as she was dancing in the temple of Artemis Orthia in Sparta. Theseus then left her with his mother in the deme of Aphidnae (or at Athens itself in some accounts), while he accompanied Pirithous in an unsuccessful attempt to steal Persephone from the underworld; for the fullest treatment of the story, see Diod. 4.63; Plut. *Thes.* 31–4. Hellanicus says that Theseus was already fifty years old and Helen not yet of an age to marry when the rape and abduction occurred (*FGrHist* 4 F 168a = Plut. *Thes.* 31.1–4; Diod. 4.63.2 gives her age as ten). 5th-c. Athenian literature and monumental art ignore the story of Helen's abduction, since it casts Theseus in a negative light (see below); the action does appear, however, on approximately twenty 5th-c. vases, but with the significant difference that Theseus is depicted as a handsome ephebe (thus lessening the hybris of the action): Mills 1997: 8; Shapiro 1992. For a full discussion of H.'s account see Biraschi 1989.

Τυνδαρίδαι: 'the sons of Tyndareus' (king of Sparta), an alternative name for the Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeuces. As Helen's brothers, her rescue was naturally their responsibility.

ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δήμους 'were turning the villages upside down'; for δήμους cf. 73.1 n. ἀνίστημι in the act. both in Homer (*Od.* 6.7) and H. (4.158.2) can have the sense of 'moving a population', yet the implication of such wholesale deportation is inappropriate here; cf. 5.29.1 where χώρη ἀνεστηκυῖα means 'desolate land'.

ἵνα: 54.1 n.

οἱ δέ: sc. λέγουσι: 'and some say . . . ', introducing a variant version (Intr. §4).

Δέκελον: a founder and eponymous hero is a characteristic feature of Greek communities.

ἀχθόμενον . . . τῆι Θησέος ὕβρι: his hybris must be the kidnapping of Helen. As the only reference to Theseus in H., the portrait stands in sharp contrast to his mythicisation by the Athenians (cf. Thuc. 2.15.2 with *HCT* II.49), by whom he is often portrayed in 5th-c. tragedy as the idealised embodiment of Athenian civic virtue, the representative and symbol of Athens and 'almost always the active helper . . . and the altruistic champion of the common good of Greece.' (Mills 1997: 265). The hybris of Theseus

here in provoking a Spartan invasion may allude to Athens' (or Pericles'?) role in the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. Decelus, we are next told, revealed Helen's whereabouts because 'he feared for the whole land of Attica'. In Alcman's version of this myth (Paus. 1.41.4 = *PMG* 21) the Dioscuri actually captured Athens; by not accepting that version H. is perhaps providing contemporary Athenians with a mythic paradigm for preserving their city in the current war: by following the example of Decelus and coming to terms with Sparta, they could still save themselves from destruction.

σφι: the Tyndaridae.

κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας, τὰς δὴ Τιτακός... καταπροδιδοῖ Τυνδαρίδῃσι 'led them [sc. the Tyndaridae] against Aphidnae, which Titacus, who was a native of the place, betrays to the Tyndaridae'. Titacus presumably was the eponymous hero of the neighbouring deme Titacidae. If so, it is unusual that he was a native of Decelea.

ἐὼν αὐτόχθων: generally used of a people who never migrated, it is found only one other time of an individual (4.45.3).

73.3 ἀτελείη τε καὶ προεδρίη: ἀτελείη is freedom from payment, either of a regular charge (1 54.2, where it is the right to consult the Delphic oracle without payment) or a customary charge (ἀτελείη στρατηίης καὶ φόρου, a remission of tribute by the Persian King: 3.67.3, cf. Briant 1996: 79–80). It is not clear what payment would be required by strangers visiting Sparta, since unlike Athens, there is no evidence for a class of resident aliens at Sparta (apart from exiles and foreign boys undergoing the state upbringing); possibly there were fees for conducting sacrifices at festivals. There is evidence, however, that Spartan elites entertained foreigners at the major festivals – the Spartiate Lichas became famous throughout Greece for entertaining visitors during the Gymnopaediae (Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.61; Plut. *Cim.* 10.6) – so προεδρίη, i.e. the granting of seats of honour to foreigners at festivals, would be appropriate. And although foreigners were subject to occasional expulsions (ξενηλασίαι), these were not systematic (Rebenich 1998), and there was nothing to prevent wealthy Deceleans from visiting Sparta during peacetime.

διατελέει ἐς τόδε αἰεὶ ἔτι ἐοῦσα 'continues still to be in existence through all time (αἰεί) up to the present'; for ἐς τόδε cf. 21.2n.

τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ... γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι: the war referred to must be the Archidamian War (431–421). Although Thuc. was later to argue that all the events from 431 to 404 comprised 'the

war between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians' (5.26), it is clear from the Attic orators that some saw the Archidamian War as a separate conflict not directly related to later events (see Ste Croix 1972: 294–5). Strictly interpreted, the aor. participle γενόμενον might be evidence for when H.'s work was 'published' (Intr. §1, and next n. but one). It is unlikely, however, that we can press this aorist, since for H.'s future audience, the war would in any case be past.

σινομένων τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων: Spartan strategy in the Archidamian War consisted mainly of annual invasions of Attica led by the Spartan king, in which they ravaged the Athenians' territory and tried to goad them into battle (Thuc. 2.18–23 for the first invasion in 431).

Δεκελέης ἀπέχεσθαι: although Thuc. does not tell of any Spartan action against Decelea during the Archidamian War, he also does not specifically exclude Decelea from the general Spartan ravaging of Attica; however that may be, Spartan sparing of Decelea is true only of the Archidamian War, since in 413 the Spartans occupied Decelea and from there did damage to the Athenians year-round (Thuc. 7.19.1–3). It is hardly coincidental here that H. tells of this in the aftermath of Plataea, reminding his audience of a time (ranging back into the mythical) when Athenians and Spartans cooperated for a common good. This passage is an important piece of evidence for establishing the *terminus ante quem* for the publication of H.'s work, since he could not have said this after 413 (see Intr. §1).

74.1 διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει 'has two accounts spoken [sc. about him]'.

ἐκ τοῦ ζωστῆρος τοῦ θώρηκος 'from the belt of his breastplate'.

χαλκέῃ ἁλύσι δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν σιδηρέην 'an iron anchor tied with a bronze chain'.

ὅκως πελάσειε . . . βαλλέσκετο 'whenever he drew near . . . he would throw': for the construction cf. 116.3; for the absence of syllabic augment, Intr. §7.F.2. This version only makes sense if hoplite fighting regularly afforded opportunities for single combats (see Cawkwell 1989: esp. 386–7; Krentz 1985).

ἐδέδοκτο: sc. αὐτῶι: 'it was his strategy', lit., 'it had been decided (by him)'.

74.2 τῶι πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβατέων 'disagreeing with the one just spoken'; the verb only here and at 4.14.2, though cf. λόγων ἀμφισβασίῃ at 8.81.

ἐπίσημον ἄγκυραν 'an anchor as emblem'.

75 **ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον . . . ἔργον**: for similar prolepses (Intr. §2) in 9, see 35.2; 37.4, and 64.2.

περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων Αἴγιναν: during war between Athens and Aegina, *c.* 487–483 BC, narrated by H. at 6.85–93.

Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον: he was the general of 1,000 Argive volunteers who fought for Aegina.

ἄνδρα πεντάεθλον 'a victor in the pentathlon'. Paus. 1.29.5 mentions his victory at the Nemean games.

ἐκ προκλήσιος 'on [lit. 'arising from'] a challenge'. H. had already mentioned Sophanes' victory at 6.92 (a rare repetition). This incident reveals that the aristocratic and 'Homeric' ethos of individual, as opposed to collective, valour in battle was still very much alive at the beginning of the fifth century. For the theme of single combat see above, 27.5n.

κατέλαβε 'it happened that', followed by acc. Σωφανέα and inf. ἀποθανεῖν; cf. 49.1n., 60.3n.

Λεάγρωι τῶι Γλαύκωνος: his son Glaucus was general in 440 and commanded the reinforcements sent to Corcyra in 433 (Thuc. 1.51.4).

ὑπὸ Ἡδωνῶν ἐν Δάτωι περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχόμενον: this battle with the Edonians is probably the same as that mentioned by Thuc. 1.100.3, 4.102.2 (see Hornblower *CT* II. 155), in which 10,000 Athenian and allied colonists were destroyed by the Thracians at Drabescus in Edonia in *c.* 465. The district called Datum was rich in gold mines (Strabo 331).

76–82 Three episodes with Pausanias

The main character of these incidents is the victorious general Pausanias, who is the spokesman for moderation in victory and for the maintenance of cultural norms. For the background to his actions here, especially in light of his later career, see Intr. §3.

76.1–3 Pausanias and the woman of Cos

The meeting of Pausanias and the woman from Cos cannot but remind us of the scene in *Il.* 6.119–236 where Glaukos and Diomedes recognise their inherited guest-friendship on the battlefield, desist from fighting, and exchange gifts. This recognition, and Pausanias' concern for the suppliant, suggest the epic world, and the Spartan general appears here in the most

flattering light, himself almost a Homeric hero, and an excellent representative of the Spartan ideal of restraint and moderation (so Masaracchia 1976: 178). The incident here may have taken on additional irony, if the later story noted by Paus. and Plut. is a contemporary tradition, namely that Pausanias inadvertently killed a Byzantine virgin while trying to rape her (Paus. 3.17.7–9; Plut. *Cimon* 6.4–7, where it is claimed that it was narrated by many; cf. *Mor.* 555c). The contrast between that outlandish behaviour and the restraint shown here is of a piece with the contrasts elsewhere in this section. H. may have learned of this story in Halicarnassus, since its queen Artemisia also ruled over Cos (7.99). Paus.'s version (3.4.9) is clearly based on H. and gives no additional details. There is little to be said for the attempt by Verrall 1903: 99–101 (approved in HW 319–20) to argue that H.'s source was a relief dedicated by this woman in a temple on Aegina, since this thesis depends entirely on Verrall's strained attempt to recover a hexameter from H.'s prose version.

76.1 κατέστρωντο: cf. 69.2n.

γυνή: H. names her father (76.3) but not her. Similarly, he suppresses the name of the wife of Masistes (108–113) and most likely for the same reason: because both were women who had been brought, through no fault of their own, into shameful circumstances (just as Candaules' queen, the victim of unlawful behaviour, is also anonymous, 1.8–12). By not naming these women, then, H. actually preserves their good reputation.

παλλακή 'concubine'; see Brosius 1996: 31–4, 89–90, who argues, partly on the basis of this passage, that some Persian concubines were foreign women of high social rank and often accompanied the Persian army (7.83.2, 7.187.1). Briant 1996: 289–90 notes that παλλακή refers to a variety of different female relationships with the Persian King.

Φαρανδάτεος τοῦ Τεάσπιος: a nephew of Darius (4.43.2) and the commander of the Marians and the Colchians (7.79).

τῶν παρεουσέων: sc. ἐσθήτων: 'of those she had with her'.

ἁρμαμάξης: a Persian covered carriage; cf. 7.83.2.

ἐχώρεε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους 'she went into the midst of the Lacedaemonians' (for ἐς used in this way see Powell, s.v. A.1.1 e(β)). For female daring cf. 5.3n.

ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φονῇσι ἐόντας 'still engaged in their slaughter': this suggests that H. envisions the action taking place around the palisade when it was clear that the Greeks had won and the general rout of the Persians and their allies (70.5) was still going on.

ἐξεπισταμένη 'knowing well', a result of the family connection: cf 66.2n. and next n.

ὥστε = ὡς, as often in H.: 'since she had often heard them', no doubt because her father was Pausanias' dearest friend in her homeland (76.3).

λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων 'taking hold of his knees', the usual posture of a suppliant.

76.2 ὦ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης: Pausanias was, in fact, not the king of Sparta, but the regent for Pleistarchus (10.2–3). The error of calling him 'king', however, is common, beginning with Lycurg. *Leoc.* 128 and Duris of Samos (*FGrHist* 76 F 14), and continuing to this day. The mistake has point, however, since it underscores the ambiguity inherent in Pausanias' position: he had won 'the fairest victory of all those we know', yet he had done so acting as regent on behalf of his cousin, who would eventually come of age, at which point Pausanias would no longer have any special claim to authority. Cf. the Spartan admiral Lysander's similar dilemma in the years after his stunning victory at Aegospotami in 405: he was posthumously accused of conspiring to make the kingship elective (Plut. *Lys* 24–6, 30; Diod. 14.13; Nepos, *Lys.* 3). Pausanias was accused of enlisting Persian support to make himself tyrant of Greece (see 5.32; Thuc. 1.128–35, further, Intr. §3).

ῥῦσαί: 2nd pers. sing. aor. middle imperative.

καὶ ἐς τόδε 'even before this', for the temporal use of ἐς see 21.2n.

τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὄπιν ἔχοντας: the Persians are often thus characterised as impious in H.; see Intr. §§3, 6c, and Mardonius' disregard of the omens in the battle itself (41.4). Their burning of the Acropolis twice (8.53: and 13.2 above) and their attack on Delphi (8.36–38) naturally suggested such a characterisation, but there must also be some sense here of their greed for empire and their transgressions of boundaries established by god. For the theme of Persian impiety and its punishment at Plataea, cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 805–15, esp. 808: ὕβρεως ἄποινα κἀθέων φρονημάτων. For the actual attitude of the Persians towards others' religions, see 116.2n

δαιμόνων: this word has a broad range of meaning in Greek thought about the supernatural; but in general terms *daimon* 'is occult power, a force that drives man forward where no agent can be named' (Burkert 1985: 180) Indeed δαίμων is sometimes used by H. where it is not known which particular god is involved in an action (e.g. 1 86.2; 1.87 4; 6.13.3), but at other times the word seems a mere synonym for θεός (4.79.4; 4.94.1). Here the reference to both *daimones* and gods serves to cover the full range of divine beings.

θεῶν ὄπιν: in Homer (e.g., *Il.* 16.388) θεῶν ὄπις is the watchfulness of the gods over men and their concern for wrongdoing; for H. the phrase (only here and at 8.143.2) indicates the respect for the gods that people are expected to demonstrate.

76.3 εἰ δή 'if really', with some sense of recognition (cf. *GP* 223, 'We often find εἰ δή where εἰ ἄρα ... might have been used instead').

πρὸς τούτωι 'in addition to this', i. e., that she is a suppliant. Respect for the suppliant is an important heroic virtue both in *Il.* (where it is ignored for large portions of the work, but reasserted in the end), and *Od.* (where it is linked to understanding of and sympathy for the human condition). See Richardson 1993: 18 and 56–65 with further reff.

ὅς ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐών 'who happens to be my very best (μάλιστα) guest-friend'; on the continuing importance of *xenia* in the classical period, see Herman 1987; on the recognition of a guest-friend as an episode borrowed from epic see 76.1–3n. above.

τῶν ἐφόρων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι: Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.36 (cf. *Lac.* 13) says that it was customary for two ephors to accompany the king on campaigns; see further Richer 1998: 407–20.

77 *The late arrival of the Mantineans and Eleans*

This incident recalls the late coming of the Spartans after Marathon (6.120). While the Spartans delayed for religious reasons, H. does not explain why the Mantineans and Eleans arrived after the battle; Gillis' suggestion (1979: 80) that they deliberately delayed to see who would be victorious (like the Corcyreans, 7.168) is unpersuasive, since H. emphasises their distress, their eagerness to pursue Artabazus, and their subsequent banishment of the commanders of the two armies. It is puzzling that the Mantineans were not included on the Serpent Column (81.1 n.), even though they sent 500 hoplites to Thermopylae (7.202), whereas the Eleans, who had not made an appearance at Thermopylae, were included.

77.1 ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι 'when it was all over', i. e. 'too late'; cf. 4.164.3.

77.2 τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας: see 66.

ἐδίωκον 'they intended to pursue'; for the conative imperfect see Smyth §1895.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι ... οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν: similarly, after the battle of Salamis, the Greeks had wished to pursue the Persian fleet, but were dissuaded by Eurybiadas, the Spartan commander, from doing so (8.108);

on the characterisation of Sparta as reluctant, see 7α.1-β.2n.; cf. Thuc. 1.70 where the Corinthians unfavourably compare the Lacedaemonians to the Athenians who 'when victorious over their enemies pursue their advantage to the utmost' (1.70.5, with Intr. §3).

78–79 The exchange between Pausanias and Lampon

The second of three incidents centred around Pausanias, this pointed exchange between Lampon and Pausanias neatly illustrates several of the themes which recur throughout the *Histories*, including the notion of vengeful retribution (*tisis*), which entails that those who commit evil deeds will pay for them now or in the future (see Intr. §6a; 79.2n.), and the contrast between Greek and barbarian customs (Intr. §6b; 79.1n.). H.'s audience would surely have been struck by the contrast between Pausanias' restraint and moderation displayed here and his later alleged arrogant behaviour: see Intr. §3. Also evident here, as throughout H.'s narrative, is an anti-Aeginetan bias (cf. 5.81; 6.87; 91; and below, 80.3; 85.3).

78.1 ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι 'back at Plataea', for this type of resumptive phrase cf. 65.1n.

Λάμπων ὁ Πυθέω: although the name Lampon was not uncommon (cf. the homonymous Athenian (21) and Samian (90) in this Book), this Lampon was probably related to the Lampon whose sons Pytheas and Phylacidas were celebrated for their athletic victories in Pind. *Nem.* 5, *Isth.* 5, 6 and Bacchyl. 13. (He is not likely (*pace* HW 321) to be the father of Pytheas and Phylacidas, since Pind. *Isth.* 6. 16 calls his Pytheas 'son of Cleonicus'.) This Pytheas is also related to Pytheas of Aegina, the marine captured by the Persians at Sciathus, treated kindly by them out of respect for his bravery, and set free when the Persian boat in which he was held as prisoner was taken by Polycritus at Salamis (7.181, 8.92). This aristocratic clan, one of the wealthiest and most influential on Aegina, were the Psalychidai (Pind. *Isth.* 6. 63).

⟨ἐὼν⟩ τὰ πρῶτα 'being among the most prominent of the Aeginetans'; for the phrase cf. 6.100.3. This imprecise formulation does not necessarily mean that Lampon was a general.

ὃς ἀνοσιώτατον ἔχων λόγον ἵετο πρὸς Παυσανίην 'who with a most unholy proposal came running to Pausanias'. ἵετο here and σπουδῇ in the next clause, as well as χαρίζεσθαι at 78.3, indicate that Lampon can hardly contain his desire to ingratiate himself with Pausanias.

78.2 ὦ παῖ Κλεομβρότου: address by patronymic is common in H., where it is normally used as a polite or respectful form of address (Dickey 1996: 52–6).

τοι: twice here it equals σοι, as often in H., but rarely in other prose writers.

ὑπερφυές: literally 'overgrown', and so 'extraordinary'. μέγαθος and κάλλος are accusatives of respect.

παρέδωκε 'granted', its usual meaning with the dative and infinitive (Powell, s.v. 3).

ῥυσάμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα: the same phrase used of Leonidas (8.114.2, ῥυόμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα).

κλέος καταθέσθαι μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν: the antecedent of τῶν is κλέος; the sentiment echoes H.'s own opinion at 64.1 n., but here is expressed much more extravagantly. For the metaphor of 'storing fame up for oneself' cf. 7.220.4 where Leonidas is said to have dismissed the other allies at Thermopylae because he wished 'to store up fame (κλέος καταθέσθαι) for the Spartiates alone'.

τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοισι: lit., 'the things that remain [to be done], those in addition to these [sc. your rout and victory over the Persians]'. Lampon suggests that victory alone is not sufficient, a notion that Pausanias specifically answers below, 79.2.

ὅκως λόγος τέ σε ἔχηι ἔτι μέζων 'so that you will have yet greater renown'.

μή: redundant; see Smyth §§2739–40; cf. 7.5.2.

ἀτάσθαλα: 'reckless' or 'wicked' (the derivation is uncertain: see *LfgrE* s.v. for various theories; the Homeric scholiasts gloss the adjective as (inter alia) 'mad', 'wicked', 'unjust', or 'outrageous'). In Homer the word is used predominantly of things, and is applied to people only in direct speech: *Il.* 22.418 (Priam of Achilles), *Od.* 7.60 (Athena on the race of Giants), 8.166 (Odysseus to Euryalus), 24.282 (Laertes of the suitors). H. uses the word twice of people, and only here does the narrator apply it in his own voice. Earlier Themistocles called Xerxes ἀνόσιόν τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον (8.109.3). More generally Otanes in the Constitutional Debate notes that a king commits πολλὰ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα (3.80.4). The word often occurs in the context of one who is irrational and / or hybristic, and is often associated with outrages against the gods: see *LfgrE* s.v. 3; cf. 116.1 n.

78.3 Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Ξέρξης: at 7.238 the order had been given by Xerxes alone. But H. is not being inconsistent; it is Lampon, as depicted by

H., who is trying to use those arguments that will best persuade Pausanias. On H.'s technique of fashioning speeches, see Intr. §2

ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλήν: see 7.238.

τῶι σὺ τὴν ὁμοίην ἀποδιδούς 'by paying back similar treatment to Mardonius': τῶι refers to Mardonius; τὴν ὁμοίην is a substantive and is equivalent to τὸ ὅμοιον (for parallels, see 4.119.3, 6.21.1; 62.2); the participle is conditional.

ἔπαινον ἕξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητέων: although Greek men generally desired to be spoken well of, Spartans were especially concerned to shine in the eyes of their peers (see Finley 1986: 165), a characteristic of many warlike societies, including the Persian nobility, for whom status with the King was the most important concern (Lewis 1977: 150).

πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων: it is characteristic of the pan-Hellenic slant of H.'s narrative (see Intr. §00) that Lampon can say that such an action will bring him renown in the eyes of the other Greeks as well.

τετιμώρησαι . . . Λεωνίδην 'you will have taken vengeance in respect to your uncle Leonidas'; for the pf. in place of the much rarer fut. perf., see K-G 1.150. For the family connection of Pausanias with Leonidas, 10.1n. with Fig. 1.

79.1 ὦ ξεῖνε Αἰγινῆτα: the use of ξεῖνε with an ethnic is common in H., less so in other authors, but the tone here is not easy to recover: Pausanias may have had a real relationship of *xenia* with Lampon (which would pick up the theme of the earlier encounter with the woman of Cos), or the phrase may be formal (cf. 16.3n.), or indicate annoyance (Dickey 1996: 147–8).

τὸ μὲν εὐνοέειν τε καὶ προορᾶν ἄγαμαι σευ 'I am grateful to you for your good will and your thoughtfulness'; for προοράω in the sense of 'taking care of, looking out for' cf 5.39.2. If it is true that Pausanias is annoyed with the speaker (prev. n.) then these words are spoken with sarcasm.

γνώμης μέντοι ἡμάρτηκας χρηστῆς: on the metaphorical use of ἁμαρτάνω, 33.2n.; for the phrase γνώμης ἁμαρτάνειν, cf. 1.207.7, 3.81.1.

ἐς τὸ μηδὲν κατέβαλες 'you have cast me down to nothing', picking up the imagery from ἐξάρας.

νεκρῶι λυμαίνεσθαι: H.'s usage is divided almost equally between dat. and acc. object for the verb; at 3.16.5 and 8.15.1 the MSS have both readings.

ἀκούσεσθαι 'will be spoken of', as often in the passive; see Powell s.v. IV; lit., 'I would hear better (about myself)', i.e., 'I would have a better reputation'.

τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάροισι ποιέειν ἤ περ Ἕλλησι: the phrase is somewhat ambiguous: if μᾶλλον means 'rather', the behaviour is characterised as exclusively barbarian, not surprising given the Greek/barbarian dichotomy of H.'s time (Intr. §6b). In this reading, the mutilation of a corpse was an act of cruelty typical of barbarians, but not of Greeks (E. Hall 1989: 158–9; even in Homer mutilation of a corpse marks an advanced state of savagery: see Segal 1972: 9–17). Some historical basis lies behind the construct: impalement, whether of the living or the dead, was a standard punishment among the Persians, as among the Assyrians and Medes before them (cf. 1.128.2, 3.132.2, 3.159.1, 4.43.2–7, 6.30.1, 7.194.1). In the Behistun inscription Darius boasts of impaling those who had rebelled (Column II §32–33; IV § 49–50; Kent 1953: 124, 128; Brosius 44); Artaxerxes II later impaled the head and right hand of his brother, Cyrus the Younger (Xen. *An.* 1.10.1; 3.1.17). H. emphasises here that Pausanias, at the triumph of Greece over Persia, recognises the distinction between the two peoples, and, having it in his power to outrage the corpse, he once again preserves moderation in success. (Although it is possible that μᾶλλον here means 'more', and thus blurs the line between Greek and Persian, Pausanias' comment that the Greeks begrudge this behaviour *even* to barbarians (see next n.) makes this less likely.)

κἀκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν 'and we begrudge this even to them', i.e we do not think it is proper behaviour even for barbarians.

79.2 τούτου εἵνεκα 'so far as this is concerned' (Powell s.v. εἵνεκα 4); cf. 42.4.

μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτα ἀρέσκεται 'nor those to whom these things are pleasing'; τοῖσι = οἷσι (Intr. §7.E.3).

ἀποχρᾶι . . . λέγειν: the words are full of irony, given Pausanias' later career: Intr. §3.

ψυχῇσί τε τῇσι τῶνδε ἀναριθμήτοισι: the τῶνδε here lends a vividness to the picture, as we are to imagine Pausanias pointing out the bodies of the Persians lying about him; the use of ψυχή is perhaps meant to recall *Il.* 1.3–4: πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν | ἡρώων.

ἔτι '(n)ever again'.

χάριν τε ἴσθι 'and in short, be grateful'. On summarising τε, *GP* 500.

ἀπαθής: lit., 'without experience (of evils)', and so 'unharmed'.

80–81 Booty taken from the Persians

H. describes the booty taken from the Persians, the dedications made by the Greeks, and the division of the spoils among the Greeks and their

commander Pausanias. The scene is meant to bring out the vast wealth of the Persians, and although the booty is vast and may seem exaggerated, Xen. (*Cyr.* 4.3.1–2) claims that the Persian Kings took their most prized possessions with them while making expeditions, and the behaviour of Artaxerxes III (see next n.) and Darius III during the invasion of Alexander the Great (Plut. *Alex.* 20; Arr *Anab.* 2.11.9–10), confirms this. For the imitation of this scene by later historians see Rossi 1999/2000.

80.1 σκηνὰς . . . ἀργύρεοι: Theopompus' description of the preparations of Artaxerxes III in 344 BC to invade Egypt may be modelled on this passage: see *FGrHist* 115 F 263 = [Long.] *Subl.* 43.2.

κρητῆράς τε χρυσέους καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα: the *krater* is a large wine-mixing bowl; a *phiale* is a shallow handleless bowl which the Greeks primarily used for pouring religious libations, but which in the Near East was used for drinking. The Attic ceramic 'Achaemenid phialai', which first appear late in the sixth century, are an imitation of the Persian metalware bowl and were probably also used for drinking (see M. C. Miller 1997: 136–41). ἐκπώματα, which is a generic term for drinking cups, will have included Achaemenid animal-head cups made of precious metal. Attic ceramic adaptations (called *rhyta*) of these Achaemenid animal-head cups gained considerably in popularity after the Persian Wars, probably as a result of examples that were taken as plunder. See Hoffmann 1961 and M. C. Miller 1997: 141–6.

80.2 ἀπό τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν: since many of the 'Immortals' had fallen at Plataea (see 8 113.2), their magnificent armour (described at 7.83.1–2) would have also become plunder.

τοὺς ἀκινάκας: τούς here is equivalent to 'their', because the scimitar was pre-eminently associated with the Persians; cf. 7.54.2 Περσικὸν ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι.

ἐπεὶ ἐσθῆτός γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγίνετο οὐδὲ εἷς 'since no account at all was being taken of the embroidered clothing.' The emphatic οὐδὲ εἷς perhaps registers surprise, since tastes would soon change: beginning in the second quarter of the 5th c., and emphatically by mid-century, the Athenian elite adopted several clothing-types of manifestly Oriental origin: the long sleeved chiton, the *kandys*, and the *ependytes* (see M. C. Miller 1997: 153–87). Although at the time of Plataea Greek males might have had no use for such garments, it is not the case that they did not appreciate their value. Plut *Cim.* 9 relates a stratagem told by Cimon himself to Ion of Chios, whereby after the capture of Sestos and Byzantium in 478, Cimon let the allies

choose between the possessions of the captive Persians and their naked bodies, and they foolishly choose 'the golden anklets, necklaces, collars, cloaks and purple robes,' not realising that the Persians could be ransomed for a much greater amount.

80.3 ὥστε Αἰγινήτῃσι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένοντο 'and the great wealth of the Aeginetans originally (ἀρχήν) came about at this time'; the plural πλοῦτοι is perhaps used here to indicate the several and individual fortunes that arose, rather than emphasising the wealth of the state as a whole. H.'s anti-Aeginetan bias (78–79n.) is on display here, since Aegina's wealth was hardly a result of this set of incidents: she was already one of the wealthiest of Greek cities in the 6th c., principally due to her involvement in long-distance trade (Murray 1993: 224–6; Figueira 1981: 241–8), something that he ought to have realised, since he knows that the Aeginetans had built a temple of Zeus at Naucratis in the Nile Delta in the early 6th c. (2.178), and he alludes (4.152) to the extremely profitable trading activities of a certain Sostratus (undated by H. but very likely active in the last third of the 6th c.: see Murray 1993: 225).

οἳ τὸν χρυσὸν ἅτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν ... ὠνέοντο 'who bought gold ... as if it had been bronze'; the use of δῆθεν with ὡς or (here) ἅτε indicates that a supposition is mistaken, although there is perhaps here too some sense of contempt on the part of the narrator: see *GP* 265; cf. 99.3n. The foolishness of the helots may recall the exchange of armour at *Il.* 6.234–6, where Glaukos gave Diomedes 'armour of gold for bronze, for nine oxen's worth the worth of a hundred.'

παρὰ τῶν εἱλωτέων ὠνέοντο: at first sight this seems surprising, since one must wonder of what use money was to helots, serfs who belonged to the land and who could not be bought or sold by their Spartiate masters. Nevertheless, it seems likely that helots owned some personal property: see Thuc. 4.26.6–7; Cartledge 1979: 164.

81.1 δεκάτην ἐξελόντες: the usual amount; see Pritchett, *GSAW* 1. 54–5.

ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος: the so-called 'Serpent Column'; the tripod was melted down by the Phocians *c.* 354. (Paus. 10.13–19); the base, on which were placed three intertwined snakes (not one snake with three heads as H. says), was removed from Delphi by the Roman emperor Constantine in the 4th c. AD, and brought to his new capital Constantinople, where it still stands in the ancient hippodrome (*At-maidan*) without its snake heads (one of which is in the Istanbul museum). On the coils of the snakes were engraved the names of the participants in the war, but not all the names

agree with H.'s account, and some were inscribed after the monument was dedicated: for the text, ML 27 = Fornara 59, with their discussions ad locc.; see also HW II. 321–4.

χάλκεον Δία: Paus. 5.23.1–3 describes this statue, giving its creator's name as Anaxagoras of Aegina. He also names the peoples inscribed on its base, but they are not the same as those on the Serpent Column (previous n.) or in H.: see HW II. 321–4.

τῶι ἐν Ἰσθμῶι θεῶι: Poseidon, but nothing more is known of the statue.

ἔλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν 'each took the things that they deserved'; on attraction of the relative into the genitive case, cf. 58.4n. It is unclear whether ἕκαστοι refers to individual soldiers or individual contingents, but context strongly suggests the latter, i.e., a distribution for each contingent agreed upon by all the participants. If, however, it did refer to individuals and if Spartan individuals were allowed to behave like citizens of other Greek states in this case, the remark would contradict 4th-c. and later writers (e.g. Xen. *Lac.* 7.6, 14.3; Plut. *Lyc.* 17, 19, 30; Diod. 7.12.8) who claim that individual Spartans were not allowed to own gold and silver objects or coins before the end of the Peloponnesian War; see further Hodkinson 2000: 151–86.

81.2 ὅσα μέν νυν ἐξαίρετα τοῖσι ἀριστεύσασι . . . ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν: H. sometimes states ignorance of one thing in order to emphasise something else that he does know (e.g. 8.87.1; cf. below, 84.1); here it is used to point out the ten of everything given to Pausanias: the ὅσα μέν is correlative not with δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε but with Παυσανίηι δέ.

πάντα δέκα 'ten of each kind of thing', πάντα here an acc. of respect. Legrand, however, sees it as a locution for 'in abundance', and Stein takes it as 'a tenfold portion' (i.e., ten times as much as ordinary).

γυναῖκες, ἵπποι, τάλαντα, κάμηλοι: except for the camels, all of these items were promised by Agamemnon to Achilles: cf. *Il.* 9.122–30 = 264–72, which mentions tripods, talents, cauldrons, horses, gold, and women. The distribution of women here is a particularly Homeric touch.

ἵπποι: probably Nisaean (20n.). Paus. 6.2.1 says that the Lacedaemonians became the most ambitious of all the Greeks in breeding horses after the Persian Wars; but since the remarkable string of Spartan victories in the four-horse chariot race at Olympia did not begin until 448, there may not be a causal connection (see Hodkinson 2000: 307–12).

τάλαντα: most likely the gold and silver brought by the Persians for expenses and possible bribes (cf. 2.3n., and Artabazus' reference to coined

and uncoined gold, 41.3). Stein ad loc. thought the word corrupt and conjectured ἅρματα, but the Homeric reference (previous n. but one) makes the MSS reading the more likely.

ὣς δὲ αὔτως 'and in the same way': tmesis for ὡσαύτως δέ.

82 Pausanias compares Greek and Persian meals

The third and final incident centring around Pausanias has him compare Persian and Greek meals as a way of contrasting oriental wealth with Greek poverty, and the moral disposition that results from each (see Intr. §6b). Again, in light of Pausanias' later behaviour, it is particularly ironic, since Thuc. mentions (1.130.1) as one of Pausanias' later actions that he had a Persian table set for himself.

82.1 κατασκευήν 'furnishings' or 'establishment' (not the tent per se, but its contents). This noun is generally used of things which are more fixed or more permanent than παρασκευή (used below of the dinner). If we are to imagine that Xerxes' furniture was in Mardonius' tent, then this anecdote is at variance with 70.3 where we were told that the Tegeans plundered it. H., however, does not vouch for the historicity of this story which he introduces with λέγεται. (According to Plut. *Per.* 13.9 the Odeion at Athens was said to be 'an image and imitation of the King's tent'; but the truth of this claim is doubted by M. C. Miller 1997: 218–42.)

82.2 παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου: H. describes a Persian dinner as having few main dishes but many side-dishes (1.133.2). The king of Persia, however, would be expected to have a greater feast than the ordinary Persian. Cf. Xen. *Ages.* 9.3, where Xen. contrasts the extravagant table of the Persian King with the simple diet of the Spartan King Agesilaus.

ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθά 'astounded at the good things that lay before him'; ἐκπλήσσω has the sense in Homer of being driven out of one's mind: combined with Pausanias' laughter (82.3n.) we may wonder whether the change in his attitude is already beginning here. Pausanias does not so much despise the luxury of Xerxes (as Evans 1991: 84 suggests) as fail to understand why the Persians were not satisfied with the good things they already had; Pausanias is amazed, not repelled, and the difference may be significant in light of his later actions.

ἐπὶ γέλωτι 'as a joke', ἐπί indicating the aim or purpose; cf. 82.3n.

διηκόνους: these 'servants' were probably not helots, who perhaps served as cup-bearers at the Spartan messes (Critias, DK 88 B 33), but

perioeci (11.3n.), who customarily practised those crafts eschewed by Spartan citizens.

Λακωνικὸν δεῖπνον: the contrast in diet picks up the theme of Greek poverty versus Persian wealth (see Intr. §6b). Spartan fare in particular was conspicuously plain: both Dicaearchus (F 72 Wehrli = Athen. 141 b–c) and Plut. (*Lyc.* 12) list the items that a Spartan citizen was expected to contribute to his mess each month: barley meal, wine, cheese, and figs. This might be supplemented by meat or fish, and by wheaten cakes (Xen. *Lac.* 5.3). Older men allegedly preferred the notorious 'black broth', a stew made from pork cooked in its own blood and seasoned with salt and vinegar.

82.3 **θοίνης** 'banquet', the noun only here and at 1.119.5.

τὸ μέσον 'the space between', i. e., 'the difference'.

τὸν Παυσανίην γελάσαντα: cf. 82.2, ἐπὶ γέλωτι: Pausanias liked his own joke. His laughter, however, is heavily ironic, in light of the fact that he will soon embrace the very things he ridicules here (see 82n.); on laughter as a forerunner of destruction in H., see Lateiner 1977.

τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος: it is significant that Pausanias does not refer to the extravagant lifestyle of the Persians generally, but to that of Mardonius in particular (see next n.); the remark cannot be used as evidence for a belief by H. that the Persian people collectively had become soft through luxury (122n.).

τὴν ἀφροσύνην: ἀφροσύνη is used only here and at 3.146.1; for the characterisation of Mardonius as rash and foolish, see Intr. §3.

ὃς τοίηνδε δίαιταν ἔχων: δίαιταν here = 'way of life' (not just 'diet' as Powell, s.v. 3; cf. Thuc. 1.6.1). The Persian way of life was allegedly simple before their conquest of Lydia. At 1.71 the Lydian Sandanis warns Croesus that he is preparing to fight against men who dress in leather, possess a rough country which does not produce enough food, drink water instead of wine, and have neither figs nor any other good thing to eat. These themes recur at the conclusion of the *Histories*: 122n.

δίαιταν . . . ἦλθε ἐς ἡμέας οὕτω ὀϊζυρὴν ἔχοντας 'came against us who have such a woeful way of life'; the adjective ὀϊζυρός (only here in H.) appears in Homer and the poets to describe war or grief or (especially) human beings (cf., e.g., *Il.* 3.112; *Od.* 5.105; Theog. 65; Semonides, *IEG*² 7.50); this is its only appearance in prose before the 2nd c. AD. Pausanias points up the truth here of the enormous inferiority of the Greeks in terms of wealth, a kind of closural device, since Mardonius had begun the chain of actions that is completed at Plataea by urging Xerxes on with tales of

the beauty and fertility of Europe, saying that it was fit only for the King himself (7.5.3).

83–84 Marvels at Plataea

83.1 θήκας 'chests' made either by helots who could not sell all they had stolen or by Persians who, like the one who confided in Thersander at the banquet (16), were not confident of victory.
83.2 κεφαλὴ . . . γνάθος . . . πενταπήχεος ἀνδρὸς ὀστέα: the sutureless skull, the single block of teeth, and the enormously tall soldier are biological marvels, for which H. always has an open eye: see 3.12 for a similar interest. Marvels are also reported after both Marathon and Salamis: cf. 6.117.2–3 (a huge warrior appeared during the battle) and 8.94.2–3 (appearance of a mysterious ship). None are reported after Thermopylae (but there were no survivors of that battle) nor Mycale.
84.1 ἐπείτε δὲ . . . δευτέρηι ἡμέρηι ὁ νεκρὸς ἠφάνιστο 'and thereafter on the day after the battle, the corpse was gone [lit., had disappeared]'. For ἐπείτε δέ only loosely attached cf. 2.52.2, and 91.1, 98.4 below for similar constructions. ἠφάνιστο picks up ἐφάνη in the previous sentence, with H. contrasting what was recovered later with what disappeared on the spot. Immerwahr 1966: 298 thinks that Mardonius' disappearance here resembles those of Hamilcar (7.166–167) or Zalmoxis (4.95–96), but the parallels are unpersuasive given that the question here is *who* buried Mardonius, not *whether* he was buried. Paus. 9.2.2 claims that the tomb of Mardonius was on the road between Plataea and Hysiae, and that Mardonius' son Artontes paid Dionysophanes of Ephesus and some other Ionians (H.'s παντοδαπούς?) for burying Mardonius; but this is all probably based on H., and adds nothing to our knowledge. Paus. 1.27.1 also notes that the sword of Mardonius was deposited in the temple of Athena Polias, but he questions whether the Athenians ever really possessed it (so too Harris 1995: 204, 217). Demosth. 24.129 claims that Mardonius' sword was stolen from the Athenian Acropolis in the earlier 4th c.

τὸ ἀτρεκὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν: cf. 18.2n.; the sense here is 'I cannot say exactly what happened'.

ἤκουσα . . . οἶδα: different levels of certainty are present here: there are only *claims* for Mardonius' burial, but *rewards* were actually given by Artontes.
84.2 ὅστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενός τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρόν: αὐτῶν refers to both groups, those who claimed to do the deed and those

who took some reward for it (there will, of course, have been some overlap). μέντοι here is answered by δέ in the next sentence ('I can't say... but Dionysophanes has the reputation... '); cf. 81.2n. for this type of remark in H.

ἔχει δέ τινα φάτιν 'has the reputation (of)'; this is the only place in H. where φάτις is followed by a complementary infinitive, but cf. 5.66.1, Κλεισθένης... λόγον ἔχει τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπεῖσαι.

Διονυσοφάνης ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος: otherwise unknown.

85 *The burial of the Greek dead*

H. mentions burial for the soldiers at Thermopylae (7.228.1), but not for those at Marathon, Salamis, or Mycale. Scholarly controversy has focused mainly on two (completely separate) issues: (1) that the Lacedaemonians reserved one of their three graves for the priests, and (2) that the Athenians buried their dead there on the battlefield. We lack any corroborative Spartan evidence for the former, and the latter is directly contradicted by Thuc.'s remark (2.34.5) that the Athenians always buried their dead in the Kerameikos at Athens, the sole exception being for the men at Marathon who were buried on the battlefield itself. On the first issue see 85.1 n.; for the latter, 85.2n. Overall, H. mentions seven different graves – one each for the Athenians, Megarians, and Phliasians, three for the Lacedaemonians, and a latter 'empty' one for the Aeginetans – and he says that there were other empty graves. His account was contested by later authors: Paus. (9.2.4) says that only the Athenians and Spartans had separate graves, the rest being buried in a common grave (μνῆμα κοινόν) which had elegies of Simonides upon them; (the elegies *may* be preserved at *Anth. Pal.* 7.251 and 253 = *FGE* VIII–IX). HW 325 assume neglect over the years so that by Paus.'s time only the Spartan and Athenian graves remained. This raises problems of its own, for it would mean either (a) all the other graves were combined into one pan-Hellenic grave at some later time, or (b) one of the graves of the other states had come to be mistaken for a common Hellenic tomb. Either way, Paus.'s statements cannot be used to correct H., and whatever Paus. saw, it was not likely to be the same thing that had stood there 600 years before.

85.1 ὁ μὲν τρόπωι τοιούτωι ἐτάφη: H. has not, in fact, given any 'manner' in which Mardonius was buried, but it is better to understand the phrase loosely as 'the business of Mardonius' burial occurred in such a manner'.

ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἑωυτῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι 'each buried their own men separately'.

ἔνθα μὲν τοὺς ἰρέας ἔθαψαν: there are two issues here, what H. actually wrote, and whether his three-fold division for the Λακεδαιμόνιοι is correct. As to the first, τοὺς ἰρέας and οἱ ἰρέες are the readings of all MSS. Most modern editors and commentators read τοὺς ἰρένας, based on the fact that the word εἰρήν is cited in the Λέξις Ἡροδότου (see Stein's editio maior, II. 465), but this faces three particular problems: (i) there is great uncertainty as to precisely what a Spartan *eiren* was: from much later sources it appears that it was a youth who was either twenty years old (Kennell 1995: 35–7) or, more probably, between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine (MacDowell 1986: 164–6); (ii) it is unlikely that H. would use such a specialised term without explaining it; (iii) it is not clear why these ἰρένες would deserve a special burial of their own. To these it may be added that other words found in the Λέξις do not appear in H. at all, so the value of such testimony is small (den Boer 1954: 294–8). The manuscript reading, therefore, should be retained.

A separate issue is whether H.'s three-fold division is correct. Macan (ad loc.) believed that the three graves were those of Spartiates, perioeci, and helots, but the perioeci, although present at Plataea, do not figure in H.'s account of the battle, and the casualty figures (70.5 with n. for the problems with these numbers) are given only for Spartans, Athenians, and Tegeans. H.'s burial allotment is thus consistent with his own narrative. It must remain an open question, of course, whether perioeci participated in the battle, and, if so, whether a sufficient number died to warrant burial with the Λακεδαιμόνιοι. If H. is correct, he must be using Λακεδαιμόνιοι here in its more restrictive sense of 'the Spartans', not 'the Spartans and the Perioeci' (at 11.3 H. refers to τῶν περιοίκων Λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες, a separate contingent sent out after the Spartiates and their helots, 10.1). In support of H.'s division, Kennell 1995: 14–15 suggests that the burial in three separate tombs of priests, warrior Spartiates, and agricultural slaves (helots) corresponds to the tripartite division of early Indo-European society. Although evidence is lacking (see Parker 1988: 143–4), it is possible that hereditary and/or elected priesthoods at Sparta conferred political influence and were held concurrently with military commands, as was the case in the Roman Republic. Richer 1994 (cf. Hodkinson 2000: 256–9), however, speculates that some Spartiates were regularly given separate burial, not because they were priests in the technical sense, but

simply because they had achieved heroic status by virtue of their accomplishments or appearance (as in the case of Callicrates).

Ἀμομφάρετος: given that he commanded an entire division (a λόχος: cf. 53.2 above) of the Spartan army, it is hardly likely that he was an *eiren* (so Burn 541 with n. 78; *contra*, Lazenby 236–7).

85.2 καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ὁμοῦ: there is no reason to doubt this, even though Thuc. asserts that except for Marathon the Athenians always buried their war dead in the Kerameikos (2.34.1–6). Jacoby (1946, esp. 265–77) held that Thuc. (and his contemporaries) mistook for an ancestral law what had, in fact, been introduced at Athens only in 464 after the battle of Drabescus, a few years before Thuc. was born, and long after Marathon and Plataea. His arguments are supported by the archaeological record: cf. Clairmont 1983: 7–15 (adding evidence not known to Jacoby) who places this custom in the late 470s. Thus the public burial of each year's war dead in a common grave at Athens was an 'invented' tradition (for the term see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). For further discussion, see Loraux 1986: 28–30; Hornblower, *CT* I. 292–4.

85.3 τῶν δὲ ἄλλων, ὅσοισι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐόντες τάφοι, τούτους δέ 'but of the rest of the Greeks, those at any rate whose tombs are to be seen at Plataea, these . . . '. The antecedent of τούτους is τῶν ἄλλων (sc. Ἑλλήνων). Krüger's emendation ὅσοισι makes better sense and avoids anacolouthon. If ὅσοι is kept, τῶν ἄλλων would best refer to τάφοι (as Macan takes it), but one must then assume that τούτους picks up the earlier 'peoples', not their 'tombs'.

ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι: a parenthetical expression often used by H. for incidental details (so, e.g., 7.239.4, 8.38); whether any special inquiry exists behind the phrase cannot be known.

Αἰγινητέων: a final piece of anti-Aeginetan polemic (78–79n.).

τὸν ἐγὼ ἀκούω: this is a rather vague assurance, and the erection of a cenotaph does not, by itself, prove the Aeginetans to have been absent (HW 325; cf. Macan ad loc.). But H.'s ending of the post-battle incidents with these remarks reinforces the picture of Plataea given in his narration not as a pan-Hellenic victory, but as the work of the Athenians, Spartans, and Tegeans, with smaller contributions from the Megarians and Phliasians.

86–88 The siege of Thebes

This incident presents an important historical problem. The Thebans are given an ultimatum either to surrender their medisers or to have Thebes

captured by siege and demolished. Yet this seems to contradict what H. earlier (7.132.2) had narrated. During the first meeting of the Hellenic congress in 481 (H. places it in 480, but 481 is the more likely date: see Diod. 11.3.3 with Brunt 1993: 48–50, 73), the members of the Hellenic League swore an oath to 'tithe' all Greek cities that voluntarily medised (τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῶι ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῶι). Now the verb δεκατεύειν means 'to utterly destroy a city and to dedicate to the god a tenth of the spoils' (Burn, 345, 514; HW 177–8; Siewert 1972: 66–9). The Oath of Plataea (probably a fourth-century forgery: App. C) likewise included a similar provision to tithe the city of Thebes (δεκατεύσω τὴν Θηβαίων πόλιν), and the orator Lycurgus' version (*Leoc.* 81) has the more general 'I shall tithe (δεκατεύσω) all of the cities that chose the side of the barbarian'. It seems odd, then, that the Greeks should now be making deals with the Thebans. A possible solution to the contradiction, however, is to assume that the oath of 481 was a deterrent that had failed: the allies must have come to the realisation that it would be extremely difficult and very costly to destroy a city as powerful as Thebes, much less all of the communities which had medised (see Burn 545–6).

86.1 βουλευομένοισί σφι ἐδόκεε: the phrase suggests a formal Council to decide matters: cf. 51.1, 96.2.

αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας: αὐτῶν = 'the Thebans'; cf. 67n.

ἐν πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν 'chief among them': ἐν πρώτοισι means 'among the first' and hence 'chiefly' (LSJ s.v. πρότερος, B.1.3)

Τιμηγενίδην καὶ Ἀτταγῖνον: already mentioned by name at 38.2 and 16.1 respectively. Timagenides counselled Mardonius to close off the passes of Cithaeron and had thus been responsible for the slaughter of many men and beasts (39.2).

ἀρχηγέται 'ringleaders': cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 184, 251; Soph. *OT* 751; the term is especially used of gods and heroes, particularly founders of cities, though no such 'technical' meaning is evident here. According to the Theban speakers during the 'trial' of the Plataeans in 427 (Thuc. 3.62.3–4), Thebes in 479 was governed by a very narrow oligarchy, a clique (δυναστεία) of a few men, who, 'hoping to hold still more personal power if the cause of the Mede prevailed, kept the people down by force and called in the Mede'.

ἀνὰ πρώτους 'in the forefront' (Powell), hardly different from ἐν πρώτοισι above. The use of ἀνά in Attic prose is extremely limited (*AGPS* §68.20.0–3), and there is no parallel even in H. for its meaning here.

μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι: the inf. is still dependent on ἐδόκεε; although οὐ is the usual negative of the apodosis in indirect discourse, μή is often found

after certain verbs of hoping, promising, swearing, or (as here) agreeing (*MT* §685).

πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι 'until they should destroy it'; the phrase is equivalent to πρὶν ἂν ἐξέλωσι; for other examples of this construction cf. 1.199.3, 4.196.3, 7.54.2.

86.2 προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος 'they were making assaults upon the wall': for the phrase cf. 3.54.1, 155.6.

87.1 καὶ οὐ γάρ: for this type of parenthetical explanation, cf. 61.3.

δέδοκται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι: the perfect expresses the Greek resolve; the sense is 'they have made up their minds that . . . '. Timagenides refers to the enemy as 'the Greeks', as if he were addressing Persians, not fellow Greeks; οἱ Ἕλληνες is H.'s usual way of referring to the members of the Hellenic League: cf. 7.175.1.

γῆ ἡ Βοιωτίη πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσηι 'let not the land of Boeotia suffer more'; γῆ refers not just to the physical land being devastated, but also to the Boeotian people; the verb ἀναπίμπλημι is often used in Homer of 'filling up' or 'fulfilling' one's fate (e.g., *Il.* 4.170) or of 'having full measure' of sufferings or evils (*Od.* 5.207). Here one must understand κακά or the like with πλέω; cf. 5.4.2 (ἀναπλῆσαι κακά), 6.12.3.

87.2 πρόσχημα 'as a pretext', acc. in apposition with ἡμέας or the entire clause; it is contrasted with ἀληθέως in the next clause.

ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ 'from the public treasury'; cf. 6.58.1, 7.144.1. Cf. also next n.

σὺν γὰρ τῶι κοινῶι καὶ ἐμηδίσαμεν οὐδὲ μοῦνοι ἡμεῖς 'for in fact we medised as a community, and not just we alone (as individuals)': for the phrase σὺν τῶι κοινῶι in the sense of 'as a community', i.e., 'by common consent', cf. 117n., 5.109.3, 6.50.2, 8.135.2. The value of this remark on the question of the extent of Theban medism is not great, since as a speaker Timagenides must make the arguments that best fit the occasion. Nevertheless, it was probably true, despite the apologetics of the Theban speakers at Thuc. 3.62 (86.1 n.), that the majority of the Thebans voluntarily acquiesced in the medism of the ruling oligarchy, an impression that is constantly reinforced by H.'s narrative (cf. 2.2, 31.2, 40, 41.4, 67). This acquiescence was something which the Thebans, naturally enough, desired to deny in subsequent years (cf. also Plut. *Arist.* 18.7; Paus. 9.6.2).

ἐς ἀντιλογίην 'to answer the charges', lit. 'for a speech against (the charges)'; for the sense cf. Thuc. 1.31.4, ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἐλθεῖν.

κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὖ λέγειν καὶ ἐς καιρόν: ἐς καιρόν means 'opportunely', encompassing both 'with a view to the occasion', and 'to their advantage': cf. 1.206.1, 7.144.1. Since this is a case of implied focalisation, it cannot tell us anything about H.'s own evaluation of Theban medism.

αὐτίκα . . . ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο . . . θέλοντες 'immediately were sending a message (saying) that they were willing'. The speed with which the Thebans offer to give up the men suggests they believe that the Greeks really wanted the men.

88 παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ . . . Παυσανίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίης: the action of Pausanias in releasing the children of a guilty person reinforces the picture of his generosity and moderation that H. had drawn after the battle (76–82n.), and contrasts markedly with the Athenian stonings of Lycides' children (5.3) and Artayctes' son (120.4).

ἀπαχθέντας 'brought before him', ἀπάγω often used of prisoners brought before their captor (Powell, s.v. III.1)

τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας . . . διέφθειρε: the acc. τοὺς ἄλλους ἄνδρας is left hanging (anacolouthon); it is eventually taken up by ἐκείνους at the very end of the sentence, but by then another main verb ἀπῆκε with a different object has intervened, so the phrase is not strictly speaking the object of ἀγαγών. Possibly the preceding accusative παῖδας led H. to begin with a parallel construction.

οἱ μὲν ἐδόκεον ἀντιλογίης . . . κυρήσειν 'they [sc. the Thebans who were handed over] were expecting that they would get an opportunity to answer the charges'; οἱ μέν here contrasts their hopes with the actions of Pausanias (ὁ δέ); for ἀντιλογίη see 87.2n.

καὶ δὴ χρήμασι ἐπεποίθεσαν διώσεσθαι 'and in fact they were confident that with bribes they would get off'. The pf./plupf. of πείθω in the sense of 'trust, rely on' and by extension 'be confident of' is rare in prose in general, and occurs only here in H. with this sense; it is, however, common in Homer: see, e.g., *Il.* 2.341, 4.303; *Od.* 16.71. διωθέω (only in middle in H.; cf. 102.3) is intransitive (so Macan; cf. LSJ s.v. II.2), i.e. 'to push their way through, pull through' and so 'to get off'.

ὁ δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε 'but he [sc. Pausanias], when he took possession of them'; for παραλαμβάνω used of receiving enemies handed over, cf. 5.38.1.

αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοέων 'suspecting these very things', i.e., that they wished to speak in their defence and expected to win by bribery.

ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε: the actions are portrayed here as solely those of Pausanias (*pace* Macan, HW ad loc., who propose that he

was acting on orders of the council of the Hellenic League). There is yet another irony here, since Pausanias himself was later accused of medism and perished without trial: Intr. §3.

διέφθειρε 'put [them] to death'.

89 The flight of Artabazus and his arrival in Asia

The narrative of Artabazus' retreat from Greece is now resumed from 66.3, where he was fleeing the battlefield and heading towards Phocis. The plausibility of the incident has been impeached on the grounds that Artabazus could not have reached Thessaly before even a messenger brought news of the battle. If, however, Artabazus was leading only a few thousand men, rather than the 40,000 H. assigns him at 66.2, both the speed of his advance and his vulnerability to attack by Thracian tribes become more understandable. His cleverness in fooling the Thessalians once again serves to highlight his sagacity (41 n.).

89.1 Ἀρτάβαζος ... φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιέων: As with Xerxes (1 n.), Artabazus' retreat is couched in the language of flight (φεύγων here echoes the φεύγων at 66.3).

καὶ δὴ πρόσω ἐγίνετο 'was already far away', i.e. by the time the Thebans had surrendered; for καὶ δή = ἤδη, cf. 6n.

ἐπί τε ξείνια ἐκάλεον: for the phrase cf. 15.4n. This 'feast' is in strong contrast with the hopeful and lavish spectacle put on by the Thebans for Mardonius and his officers (16).

τῆς ἄλλης: that of Mardonius.

89.3 ἐπείγομαι ... τὴν ταχίστην ... σπουδήν: note the emphasis on speed again (cf. 66.3n.).

κατά τι πρῆγμα 'on a certain matter'; Artabazus' vagueness, of course, is deliberate.

μετὰ τῶνδε: τῶνδε here has a deictic function, as Artabazus makes a sweeping gesture towards his men: cf. 79.2n.

καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ οὗτος 'and his army yonder', again, no doubt accompanied by a gesture towards the south: the use of οὗτος rather than ἐκεῖνος suggests that the army is not far away at all.

κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῦ 'right behind me', lit. 'at my feet': cf. English 'at my heels'.

καὶ εὖ ποιεῦντες φαίνεσθε 'and show yourselves benefactors', an allusion to the Persian institution of the King's benefactors: cf. 18.3n.

οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ... ταῦτα ποιεῦσι μεταμελήσει 'for you will not hereafter regret doing these things'; on μεταμέλει, see 1 n. With Mardonius

gone, Artabazus now takes the role of 'spokesman' for the King: cf. 18.3n.

ἐς χρόνον: for the sense of 'hereafter' (≈ ὕστερον) see 73.1; 3.72.5, 7.29.

89.4 διὰ ... Μακεδονίης: a 4th-c. tradition claimed that king Perdiccas of Macedon 'destroyed the barbarians who were retreating from Plataea' (Dem. 13.24; 23.200). Even apart from the wrong king for 479 (Perdiccas gained the throne *c.* 450), this story does not ring true. No more credible is [Dem.] 12.21 (purportedly Philip's letter to Athens in *c.* 340): 'It was my ancestor Alexander who first occupied Amphipolis, and, as the first-fruits of the Persian captives taken there, set up a golden statue at Delphi' (a statue of Alexander is mentioned at 8.121.2). Had H. known of a story that Alexander I had attacked the retreating Persians, it is difficult to believe that he would not have mentioned it, for it would have nicely complemented those episodes (44–45; cf. 5.19–22; 7.173.3) in which Alexander hurt the Persian cause and helped the Greeks.

ἰθὺ τῆς Θρηίκης 'straight for Thrace'; cf. 69.1n.

τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ 'taking the inland route', i.e. through Macedonia, rather than by the coast road. τάμνω (≈ Att. τέμνω) generally means 'to make' a road (4.136.2), but is here (and at 7.124) used metaphorically for travelling a road, a use that is mainly poetic: Ar. *Thesm.* 1100, Eur. *Phoen.* 1, with Mastronarde 1994 ad loc., who compares epic τέμνειν πέλαγος (*Od.* 3.174–5).

συχνοὺς ὑπὸ Θρηίκων ... κατακοπέντας 'numerous men cut down by the Thracians'. The Greek can be as ambiguous as the English: κατακόπτω can mean 'execute' (3.15.1, 6.75.3) or 'wound severely' (8.92.1).

λιμῶι συστάντας καὶ καμάτωι 'those overcome with hunger and fatigue'. συνίστημι here has the sense of 'involved in' or 'implicated in' (LSJ s.v. B.II.3): for similar expressions cf. 7.170.2, 8.74.1. The army of Xerxes was also said to have suffered greatly from hunger during its return to Asia in 480, as vividly described by H. (8.115–117) and Aesch. (*Pers.* 480–514). κάματος (only here in H.) is common in Homer and refers to labour (*Il.* 17.385) or the exhaustion that comes from it (*Il.* 4.230 et al.).

ἐκ Βυζαντίου: at 66.3 H. had said that Artabazus wanted to reach the Hellespont. Presumably he did not cross at Sestos, as did Xerxes (8.117), because the Greek fleet was already besieging it (114).

90–107 Operations in Ionia and the Battle of Mycale

As the final battle of H.'s *Histories*, Mycale brings the wheel full circle as Ionia rebels a second time. H. had begun his work with Croesus, the first to

subdue Ionia (1.5, 26–27). H. joins Mycale with Plataea by a synchronism (both were fought on the same day, according to tradition), but treats them as separate and independent military campaigns, doing little to relate them strategically: it is unclear whether Pausanias and Mardonius either knew or cared about the movements of the Greek and Persian fleets, nor is there any suggestion of coordination between Leotychidas and the forces of mainland Greece. Nevertheless, the eastern campaign can be seen as complementary to Plataea, a notion which H. reinforces by similar narrative treatment: there is a substantial build-up to the battle itself, including speeches that outline what is at stake (90.2–3, 98.3–4); there is a long embedded narrative detailing the marvellous story of a seer (93–95); and after the battle there are the customary notices of brave men and unusual occurrences (105). Moreover, the two battles are made to mirror each other in significant ways: see 102–104n.

90–93 The Samian appeal, and their decision to join the Greek alliance

The story of the naval operations of 479 is resumed from 8.130–132. At the beginning of spring 479, 110 ships mustered at Aegina, with the Spartan king Leotychidas as commander-in-chief (the first Spartan king ever to command a fleet), and Xanthippus commanding the Athenian contingent (but cf. 114.2n.). This mustering took place while Mardonius was still in Thessaly and before the Greek land army began to be assembled. An embassy from Chios then arrived at Aegina and with great difficulty persuaded the Greeks to sail as far as Delos. In the present passage, which H. leaves undated, three Samian envoys successfully persuade the Greek generals on Delos to go on the offensive. It may seem odd that the generals should now feel bold enough to proceed against Samos, where the Persian fleet was stationed (8.130), whereas before they were too afraid of the Persians to sail east of Delos (8.132.3). As Stadter (1992: 785–95) points out, Delos at the centre of the Aegean is a place of great significance, for once the Greeks sail east of it, they cross over into the space of 'Asia', there to prosecute the war in a different way. Historically, the decision to cross now is explained by Hegesistratus' speech with its two salient points: that the Ionian cities were prepared to revolt and the Persian ships were in poor condition (so Hignett 251–2). Furthermore, the Samian embassy was more authoritative than the earlier Chian one, because the Chian envoys were conspirators on the run whereas the Samians were both sent by and spoke on behalf of

their countrymen. Hegesistratus also held out the possibility that it might be possible to capture the entire Persian fleet at one stroke (90.2, but cf. 90.2–3n.), and Leotychidas might have felt this to be worth the risk. This is more likely than that the fleet on Delos was reinforced from Athens after the Peloponnesians had finally marched beyond the Isthmus in July 479 (Munro 1904: 146–7; Green 229 n.), because this conjecture is based solely on the report of Diodorus (11.34.2) that the Greek fleet numbered 250 ships, and Diod. is not especially accurate with numbers. Nor did Athens have the manpower to supply simultaneously marines for about 50 triremes and an army of 8,000 hoplites at Plataea (Hignett 250; Burn 500 n. 34; Lazenby 210–11). A final explanation invoked is that the Samian envoys could report that the Persian admirals had sent away the Phoenician contingent (so Hignett 252; Green 277); but 96.1 puts this action *after* the movement of the Greek fleet towards Samos, not before.

90.1 τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆς περ 'on the same day, the very one on which'; for the synchronism, cf. 101.2. This is a slender chronological link, of a sort that H. rarely uses, since he prefers thematic transitions; for another example cf. 3.39.1.

τρῶμα 'defeat' (cf. 18.2n.); the focalisation is that of the Persians; so similarly below, 100.2.

συνεκύρησε γενέσθαι 'there happened to occur'; one must supply τρῶμα again; the construction is rather harsh, and some have suspected a lacuna.

κατέατο 'were stationed', a common meaning of κάτημαι (Powell 2b); on the form cf. Intr. §7.F.1, 3.

Θεομήστορος . . . τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου τύραννον οἱ Πέρσαι: for his capture of Greek ships at Salamis, Xerxes rewarded Theomestor with the tyranny of Samos (8.85); on Persian establishment of tyranny see Austin 1990; for the position of Greek tyrants vis-à-vis the Persian King, cf. Briant 1996: 359–62, and below, 107.3n.

90.2–3 The speech of Hegesistratus

Hegesistratus' speech requesting Greek aid in the liberation of Ionia echoes several remarks made by Aristagoras of Miletus twenty years before, when he went to Sparta and Athens in search of allies to support the Ionian revolt of 499 (5.49, 97). The difference here is that now a Spartan king answers the summons, and now the Athenians follow through on their assistance to Ionia. Hegesistratus' predictions, however, are not quite accurate: the

Ionians do not merely need to see the Greeks to revolt: they do it only when the Samians and Milesians lead the way (103.2–104); nor is he correct that the barbarians will not fight the Greeks, since the Persians, at least, hold out to the bitter end (102.3); and the 'easy catch' (90.2n.) he promised is belied by the numerous Greek losses, especially of the Sicyonians (103.1). H. is thus consistent with his earlier characterisations of the Persians as brave (see 62.3–63nn.) and the Ionians as hesitant participators needing the help of the mainland Greeks (106n. and Intr. §3).

90.2 πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα 'many things of all sorts' (hendiadys).

μοῦνον 'only'.

ἴδωνται: H. alone among prose writers uses the middle form of the uncompounded verb.

οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι 'will not stand their ground', the usual meaning of the verb when intransitive (cf. 23.2); cf. Aristagoras' similar characterisation, 5.49.3.

ἢν δὲ καὶ ἄρα ὑπομείνωσι 'but if in fact they do stand their ground': for this type of alternative with ἄρα cf. 45.2n.

οὐκ ἑτέρην ἄγρην τοιαύτην εὑρεῖν ἂν αὐτούς 'would find them a prey such as no other', i.e., they would be very easy to take; on ἄγρη cf. 39.2n.

θεούς τε κοινοὺς ἀνακαλέων προέτρεπε αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι ἄνδρας Ἕλληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης: cf. Aristagoras to the Spartans, 5.49.3: πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίων ῥύσασθε Ἴωνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης, ἄνδρας ὁμαίμονας.

προέτρεπε 'he was inciting'.

90.3 εὐπετέας: once again echoes Aristagoras: οὕτω εὐπετέες χειρωθῆναί εἰσί (5.49.4, cf. 5.49.3), words that he repeats at Athens (5.97.1): εὐπετέες . . . χειρωθῆναι εἴησαν.

κακῶς πλέειν 'were in poor shape for sailing', lit. 'sailed badly'.

αὐτοί τε . . . ἕτοιμοι εἶναι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ . . . ἀγόμενοι ὅμηροι εἶναι 'and they themselves [i.e. the Samians] were prepared to be taken on the ships and serve as hostages'.

91.1 πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος 'was continuing to implore urgently', lit. 'was much beseeching': it is common in Ionic for verbs of effort (e.g. πειρῶμαι) or continuance (e.g. διατελέω) to have a complementary participle; that construction carries over into phrases, such as πολλός εἰμι, that similarly imply these things: cf. 1.98.1 (of Deioces) ἦν πολλὸς . . . προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος ('he kept being proposed and praised'); additional examples at *AGPS* §56.5.3.

εἴτε . . . εἴτε καί: 5.2n.

κατὰ συντυχίην θεοῦ ποιεῦντος 'by chance, the god making it happen'; 'by chance' suggests a lack of agency (cf. 21.1 with n.), while the genitive absolute suggests the opposite: clearly συντυχίη means a chance in terms of human action, i.e. unintentionally, so that this in no way precludes divine action. Cf. the phrase θείηι τύχηι (4.8.3) and Intr. §6c.

Ἡγησίστρατος: he has the same name as the Elean seer for the Persians (37.1–4n.; cf. the homonymous son of Peisistratus, 5.94), but there is no reason to assume a connection between the two men. More significant is that this Hegesistratus does indeed prove to be the appropriate 'leader of the army' (37n.); and it is a striking coincidence that this son of an otherwise unknown Aristagoras succeeded where Aristagoras of Miletus had failed.

91.2 ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον 'cutting off the rest of his speech'.

εἴ τινα ὁρμητο λέγειν ὁ Ἡγησίστρατος 'in case Hegesistratus was minded to [lit. 'set out to'] say something (more)', i.e., something that would be ill-omened. For εἰ in this sense ('on the chance that', 'if by chance') see Smyth §2354.

δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνόν 'I accept the omen', sc. of his name; for the expression, cf. 1.63.1; further examples at Powell s.v. 3. There is an implicit assumption in Greek thought that verbally accepting an omen makes it irrevocable in the sense desired by the person who accepts it (Halliday 1913: 46–9). (At 8.114–115.1 a Spartan herald accepts the response of Xerxes that Mardonius will pay restitution for the death of Leonidas (64.1 n.); consequently, we are to understand, Mardonius' fate was sealed.)

[τὸν ἡγησίστρατον]: a gloss, explaining exactly what omen is being accepted.

ποίεε ὅκως . . . ἀποπλεύσεαι 'see to it that you sail away'; object clauses of effort in Attic usually dispense with the introductory verb (πράττω, ποιέω, or the like), but H. with one exception (3.142.5) keeps it; for more see *MT* §271–4.

ἦ μέν: the usual way of introducing promises or oaths; the phrase here is in apposition to πίστιν.

92.1 ταῦτά τε ἅμα . . . προσῆγε: 'no sooner did he say these things than he applied the deed (to the words)'. For the parataxis of τε . . . καί where Eng. uses subordination, cf. 16.3n. Supply τούτοις or τοῖς λόγοις with τὸ ἔργον προσῆγε.

πίστιν τε καὶ ὅρκια ἐποιεῦντο: a historic moment: the Samians became the first of the Greeks of Asia to be formally enrolled in the Hellenic League against Persia.

92.2 ποιεύμενος: 5.2n.

ἐκαλλιερέοντο 'were obtaining favourable omens', the usual meaning of the verb in the mid.; cf. 19.2n.

μαντευομένου σφι 'acting as their seer', the verb used as in 35.1 above.

Ἀπολλωνίης . . . τῆς ἐν τῶι Ἰονίωι κόλπωι: a colony of Corinth (Thuc. 1.26) founded in Illyria during the tyranny of Periander (Plut. *Mor* 552f); identified in this way to distinguish it from the Apollonia on the Black Sea (4.90.2).

τοῦ τὸν πατέρα . . . τοιόνδε 'whose father Euenius the following incident befell'; for καταλαμβάνω used in this way cf. 60 3n.

93–95 The seer Deiphonus and his father Euenius

This story is loosely attached to the surrounding narrative, and neither Deiphonus nor divination plays any role in the subsequent campaign. Its purpose, however, is clear enough: it matches and balances the stories about the seers Teisamenus and Hegesistratus that preceded the battle of Plataea (33–37). As with those earlier stories, narrative retardation is employed in order to heighten the suspense of the battle itself. Yet such stories are also part of H.'s attempt to explore the interplay between divine and human (Intr. §6c). As with the earlier seers, a marvellous tale surrounds Deiphonus, but the difference is that Deiphonus himself is not the subject but rather his father. (For other differences between Deiphonus and the earlier seers, particularly in the resolution of their stories, see Munson 2001: 72–3.) In this story, as so often in H., the inscrutability of the god's dispensation is on display: the Apolloniates do what they think is right, but misread the god's will (cf. 6.134–135 for a similar error). See Griffiths 1999.

93.1 ἔστι ἐν τῆι Ἀπολλωνίηι: the lack of a connective is a common way of beginning an embedded and/or retrospective narrative: cf. Glaukos beginning the story of his lineage to Diomedes: ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη (*Il.* 6.152; cf. *Od.* 19.172); so too the messenger in Aesch. *Pers.*: νῆσός τις ἐστὶ πρόσθε Σαλαμῖνος τόπων (447); cf. Thuc. 1.24.1 (Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις) with Hornblower, *CT* ad loc.

ἱρὰ Ἡλίου πρόβατα: sacred animals, kept by the polis in a marked-off spot and considered the property of the god to whom they were sacred, were common throughout the Greek world. The story is important evidence for the association of Helios with Apollo, since the town takes its name from Apollo, and one of the oracles that explains the gods' anger comes from

Delphi; for Euenius' possible connection with a sun cult, Griffiths 1999: 173.

παρὰ ποταμόν, ὃς ἐκ Λάκμονος ὄρεος: the river must be the Aous; for the Lakmon mountain range (located amid the Pindus range) see *TB* 1.905.

ἐς θάλασσαν παρ' Ὤρικον λιμένα 'into the sea past the harbour of Oricum'.

ἀραιρημένοι 'chosen'; for the verb form, Intr. §7.F.7. Arist. *Pol.* 4.4, 1290b8–14 says that Apollonia was ruled by an oligarchy composed of descendants of the original settlers.

οὗτοι . . . ἕκαστος: οὗτοι is in apposition to ἄνδρες, but also anticipates ἕκαστος.

ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινός 'in consequence of some oracle'; for this causal sense of ἐκ, *AGPS* §68.17.7.A; further examples at Powell s.v., C.1. θεοπρόπιον is a Homeric word (*Il.* 1.85, 6.438), common in H. but otherwise rare in prose.

93.2 αὐτοῦ κατακοιμίσαντος τὴν φυλακήν 'when he slept away his watch', i.e., when he slept through his watch. The verb, usually transitive (cf. 8.134.1), is here intransitive, either with τὴν φυλακήν as acc. of duration or cognate accusative ('to sleep a watch' = 'to keep a watch while asleep').

ὡς ἑξήκοντα: 15.3n.

ὡς ἐπήισε 'when he perceived (it)'; the verb only here and at 3.29.2.

93.3 οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθε . . . γενόμενα: for explanatory γάρ moved forward in the sentence, cf. 31.2n.

ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον 'having brought him before a court'; the verb ὑπάγω is common in this sense: cf. 6.82.1, 6.136.1; Thuc. 3.70.3; cf. 94.1n.

οὔτε γῆ ἔφερε ὁμοίως [καρπόν] 'nor did the land produce in the way that it had before'. καρπόν is a gloss: for ἔφερε used intransitively cf. 5.82.3. With ὁμοίως understand καὶ πρὸ τοῦ, as at 6.139.1, οὔτε γυναῖκές τε καὶ ποῖμναι ὁμοίως ἔτικτον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ. For other examples of divine anger following on unjust action see 1.157–159; 6.75, 6.139 and cf. Intr. §6c.

93.4 πρόφαντα δέ σφι . . . ἐγίνετο 'they were getting prophecies'; the adj. πρόφαντος means 'prophesied' (cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1159), and is here used substantivally.

ἔν τε Δωδώνηι καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι: the oracle of Zeus at Dodona in Epirus was reputedly the oldest of Greek oracles, while that of Apollo at Delphi was the most famous. It is not incredible that the Apolloniates should have consulted both of them in a crisis; Dodona was geographically convenient,

and Apollonia, a city named after Apollo, probably had ties to Delphi through Corinth, her mother city. It may seem improbable to us that either accidentally or in collusion both shrines should have produced the same oracle (so Parke 1967: 135), but H.'s audience would not have found this unusual. At 1.53 both Delphi and the oracle of Amphiaraus gave the same reply to Croesus, and in 388 the Spartan king Agesipolis received the same answer from Olympia and Delphi (Xen. *Hell.* 4.7.2).

[τοὺς προφήτας] . . . [οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον]: most editors, following Stein, delete these words to give better sense, although even with the deletions the sense is still strained. Retention of the words causes difficulties in the next sentence, however, where αὐτοί would then seem to refer to these prophets; but, as the sense there makes clear, the word must refer to the gods themselves speaking through their oracles. With the deletions, however, 'the gods' must be supplied from πρόφαντα, which is still harsh. τοὺς προφήτας, if retained, would refer to the prophets attached to oracular shrines (cf. 8.36.2, 37.1 for Delphi), who here would be helping to explain (not compose) the prophecies. For arguments for retaining both phrases, see E. Masarrachia 1985. Earlier scholars assumed (without ancient evidence) that the male προφῆται formulated into oracles the unintelligible sounds uttered by the Pythia, but recent scholarship has refuted this: see Price 1985; Maurizio 1995; so too the priestesses at Dodona (2.55) will have acted independently of male officials.

τὸ αἴτιον 'the cause': cf. 8.2n.

ὅτι: introduces a clause of indirect discourse following on the verb of saying implied in πρόφαντα: 'there were prophecies that'.

αὐτοί 'they themselves', i.e., the gods Zeus and Apollo. The infinitives that follow are indirect discourse still. Note, however, the change of subject from πρόφαντα above.

πρότερον . . . πρὶν ἤ: on πρὶν ἤ see 68n. For the addition of πρότερον before the temporal conjunction cf. 1.82.7, 7.8β.2, 8.8.2.

τὴν πολλούς μιν μακαριεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα 'in the possession of which, many men would consider him blessed'. τήν is the object of ἔχοντα, which is in apposition to μιν (lit. 'him possessing it'); the infinitive is retained even though it is a subordinate clause in indirect discourse: cf. 5.84.1, 6.137.2, 8.111.3.

94.1 ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι: 45.1n

προσέθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι διαπρῆξαι 'they assigned to men of the citizens to bring it about [as best they could]'. For the verb, cf. 3.62.2

and 5.30.6 (προσέθεσαν τῶι Ἀρισταγόρηι πρήσσειν τῆι δύναιτο ἄριστα), the latter of which shows that there is an ellipsis here after διαπρῆξαι. The transmitted προέθεσαν is unlikely, since the meaning 'to appoint as a task' (LSJ, s.v. 5) is rare in H. (cf. 3.38.1, 7.197.1 for the closest parallels) and more common to tragedy (cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1049; *Ant.* 216).

λόγους ἄλλους ἐποιεῦντο 'they were conversing about other things', i.e., things other than the main purpose for which they had come.

ἐς ὃ: 55.1n.

κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῶι πάθεϊ 'they came round to expressing sympathy with his misfortune'; for the use of καταβαίνω in this sense of 'get to' or 'conclude', cf. 1.90.3; Powell s.v. 5.

ταύτηι δὲ ὑπάγοντες 'and leading him on in this direction'; cf. 93.3n.

δίκας . . . τῶν ἐποίησαν: 58.4n.

ὑποστῆναι δώσειν 'to undertake to give'.

94.2 **εἵλετο** 'made a choice'; by so doing, Euenius fulfils the demand of the oracle (93.4, τὰς ἂν αὐτὸς ἕληται).

ὀνομάσας τοῖσι ἠπίστατο εἶναι καλλίστους δύο κλήρους 'naming those whom he knew to have the two most beautiful estates'; τοῖσι (= οἷσι) has been attracted (58.4n.) into the possessive dative. κλῆρος, often an 'allotment' (of the sort made, e.g., when a colony was founded), can also mean simply 'estate' or 'farm', as in the Homeric οἶκος καὶ κλῆρος (*Il.* 15.498; *Od.* 14.64); cf. 1.76.1.

ἐπήβολος 'in possession of'; only here and at 8.111.3.

τοῦ λοιποῦ ⟨ἂν⟩ . . . εἶναι 'he would be for the future'; the supplement is necessary since the direct statement would have contained ἄν (*MT* §681); with τοῦ λοιποῦ understand χρόνου.

ἀμήνιτος 'without anger'; an extremely rare adjective, found thrice in Aeschylus (*Ag.* 649, 1036; *Suppl.* 975), and not again until the second century AD. It can refer to either human or divine anger (Johansen and Whittle on *Suppl.* 975) and can be either active or passive (Fraenkel on *Ag.* 649).

94.3 **δεινὰ ἐποιέετο**: 33.5n.

ἔμφυτον . . . μαντικήν: 'the innate faculty of divination', a hereditary trait as opposed to that seercraft acquired by study. For innate divination cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.71–2; Soph. *O.T.* 299; for acquired, see 2.49; Isoc. *Aeginet.* 5–7. The gods have given him the gift of inner vision (or second sight) because he has lost his outer vision: this story pattern is familiar from the legendary Theban seer Teiresias, who was blinded by Athena or Hera but then given the gift of prophecy in compensation (Apollod. 3.6.7).

95 ἤδη δὲ καὶ τόδε ἤκουσα 'I have before now heard this also': 16.1n. H. uses this formula elsewhere to indicate an alternative which he either rejects outright (4.77) or clearly implies is less likely (7.55). JM thinks this indicates that the hostile tradition is to be rejected, while MAF thinks that H. gives special emphasis to the hostile tradition by ending this digression with the phrase οὐκ ἐὼν Εὐηνίου παῖς, and H. may thus wish the reader to feel uncertainty.

ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου οὐνόματος 'trading (up) on the name of Euenius'; the metaphorical use of ἐπιβατεύω (lit. 'to stand upon') has the sense of getting an advantage or 'a lift' (Macan) from something; cf. 3.63.3.

ἐξελάμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔργα 'was contracting work throughout Greece'; ἐκλαμβάνω means 'to take a contract for' (= ἐργολαβεῖν; cf. LSJ, s.v. IV); ἔργα are presumably works of divination; for ἐπί in the spatial sense of extension over, cf. Smyth §1689, 3a; the use here is possibly Homeric: cf. *Od.* 4.417, 16.63.

96–98.1 Movement of the Greek and Persian fleets before the battle

96.1 ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε: sc. τὰ ἱρά; cf 19.2n.

Καλάμοισι: lit. 'the Reeds'; this place was probably located in the marshy ground between the Heraion (next n.) and the city of Samos: cf. *TB* 1.1030–1 with Ill. 25–6; Shipley 1987: 280, no. 14.

τὸ Ἥραιον τὸ ταύτῃ 'the Heraion, the one in this place', the place being Samos and thus distinguishing this Heraion from those elsewhere, such as Olympia or Argos. Paus. (7.5.4) claims that the temple was burned down by the Persians and that fire damage was still visible in his own day.

ἀπῆκαν ἀποπλέειν 'they dismissed (them) to sail away'; i.e., they were sent home rather than to active duty elsewhere. It would help to explain Leotychidas' boldness in advancing on Samos and the determination of the Persian admirals to avoid a sea-battle, if the Phoenician fleet had actually departed at a much earlier time, say during the previous winter. Indeed, Diod. (11.19.4) claims that the Phoenicians set sail for Asia immediately after the battle of Salamis; but as usual it is unwarranted to correct H. on the basis of Diod. (Intr. §5d) H. may well be right that the Persians simply lost their nerve on the approach of the Greeks and dismissed the Phoenician fleet in order to keep it safe.

96.2 οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἐδόκεον ὅμοιοι εἶναι 'for they did not in fact think they were similar': not inferential ὦν here, but rather emphatic: *AGPS*

§69.52.1.D; *GP* 446. H. had already commented on the loss of confidence felt by the Persian fleet (8.130.2–3), which was the psychological consequence of their defeat at Salamis.

ὅκως ἔωσι ὑπό 'so that they might be close to', with the sense of 'under the protection of' (Smyth §1698, 3a). For the subjunctive of purpose after secondary sequence, cf. 51.3.

ἐν τῆι Μυκάληι: 'Mycale is a promontory of the mainland running out in a westerly direction towards Samos' (1.148); see *TB* II. 606–34.

καταλελειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ 'left behind (apart) from the rest of the army'; the genitive here is of separation (Smyth §1392). The wording leaves it open whether this army was left behind when Xerxes departed for Greece or after he returned to Sardis.

ἓξ μυριάδες: as with other Persian numbers (32.2n.), this one is impossibly high. Tigranes may have been originally a myriarch (commander of 10,000 men) but this force was reduced by losses in Greece and during the subsequent retreat (so Tarn 1908: 228 n. 99, followed by Hignett 254 and Green 278), such that his present army numbered 6,000, not 60,000. At Mycale this force could have been supplemented by marines (ἐπιβάται) serving in the Persian fleet. The fleet originally had 300 ships (8.130.2), and 'the majority of Persians and Medes were serving as marines' (8.130.1: an ambiguous sentence if H. really means that 'the majority of marines were Persians and Medes'), but it is not known what naval contingents remained after the Phoenician ships departed. If there truly were 30 Persian or Median marines on each ship (7.184.2), including the Ionian ones, they could have numbered anywhere from 3,000 to 6,000.

ἐστρατήγεε . . . Τιγράνης: Tigranes himself probably accompanied the King to Greece, for he is called commander of the Medes and an Achaemenid (i.e. he was related to Xerxes) at 7.62. Since the entire Median contingent remained behind with Mardonius (8.113.2), Xerxes possibly gave him this new command upon their return to Asia.

κάλλεϊ καὶ μεγάθεϊ ὑπερφέρων Περσέων 'surpassing the Persians in beauty and size'; for the construction with ὑπερφέρων cf. 8.138.2; for the size and beauty of commanders, 25.1 n.

96.3 περιβαλέσθαι ἕρκος ἔρυμα τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν κρησφύγετον 'to throw around (themselves) a fence as a guard for the ships and a place of refuge for themselves'. Apart from this section ἕρκος is used only once elsewhere by H. in this sense (7.191.1). The word has Homeric overtones (cf. *Il.* 5.90), as does the notion of a wall to defend ships

(the Achaeans build such a wall at *Il.* 7.433–41). The repetition of words and actions suggests that we are to see this episode as closely parallel with the earlier narrative of Plataea (90–104n.). For κρησφύγετον see 15.2n

97 τῶν Ποτνιέων: Demeter and Kore.

τῆς Μυκάλης 'in Mycale'; for the chorographic genitive see 27.3n.

ἐς Γαίσωνά τε καὶ Σκολοπόεντα 'in the direction of Gaison and Skolopoeis'. The former is probably a river (Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 48), and ποταμόν may have fallen out of the text. The town may owe its name to the Persian stockade (Σκολοπόεις/σκόλοπες), and so would have been founded later than the battle.

τῆι Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἐστὶ ἱρόν: this must be a different sanctuary from that of Demeter and Kore mentioned in the previous clause, although both were probably adjacent sanctuaries of Demeter worshipped under different epithets. Cf. Paus. 6.25.1 for a temple of Aphrodite Ourania in Elis with a precinct of Aphrodite Pandemos next door. And at least three different temples to Athena (Polias, Parthenos, Nike) stood on the Athenian Acropolis. H.'s mention of the sanctuary here is anticipatory, alerting the audience to its importance, since it will be near the site of the fighting, and so will furnish a parallel for the action at Plataea: cf. 101.1.

Νείλεωι τῶι Κόδρου ἐπισπόμενος 'who accompanied Neleus son of Codrus'; ἐπέπω in the middle has the sense of 'attending on' or 'obeying'. Neleus (the name appears as Νειλεύς and Νηλεύς), son of Tyro and Poseidon in most versions, was the father of twelve sons, all of whom, except the youngest, Nestor, were killed by Heracles (Hes. F 35 M–W). Neleus is an important figure in the foundations of many cities, including Pylos, Erythrae, the Ionian dodecapolis, and Miletus. In the Athenian tradition Neleus is a son of Codrus, a mythical king of Athens (cf. 1.147), who quarrels with his brother and flees Athens for Ionia. H. may thus be adding this detail in anticipation of 106.4 where the Athenians refer to the Ionian cities as their colonies. For more on Neleus, see *LIMC* VI.727–31.

ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κτιστύν: the foundation of Miletus was certainly treated by a writer earlier than H., probably in Panyassis' Ἰωνικά or Charon's Κτίσεις πόλεων, or perhaps even by Pherec. (*FGrHist* 3 F 155 = *EGM* F 155 = Str. 14.1.3, 632–3). The Parian Marble dates it to 1087 (*FGrHist* 239 F A27); cf. Hellanicus, *FGrHist* 4 F 125 (= *EGM* F 125); Paus. 7.2.1–2.

δένδρεα ἐκκόψαντες ἥμερα 'cutting down some cultivated trees'; although H. does not say so explicitly, these are most likely the trees of the sacred grove that would have surrounded the sanctuaries, and as such

cutting them down would have been an act of sacrilege. Mardonius too had cut down trees for his palisade: 15.2 with n.

σκόλοπας 'stakes', sharpened at one end and driven into the ground to make a spiked fence; the word only here in H.

παρεσκευάδατο: for the plupf. pass. form, Intr. §7.F.3.

ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσοντες 'in the expectation that they would either be besieged or prevail'; i.e., if they lost, they could withstand a siege within the palisade; if they were victorious, they could then bring their ships down to the sea. For καί = 'or' cf. *AGPS* §69.32.4.

ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο 'for they were making their preparations considering both possibilities'. H. does not elsewhere use ἐπί + acc. with ἐπιλέγομαι (see examples at Powell 5), but for a possible model, cf. 8.22.3, Θεμιστοκλέης... ἐπ' ἀμφότερα νοέων.

98.1 **ὡς ἐκπεφευγότων**: sc. τῶν βαρβάρων.

ὅ τι ποιέωσι: the deliberative subjunctive is retained in indirect discourse, cf. 1.75.2.

ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου 'towards the Hellespont'. The purpose is unexpressed, but they may have wished to destroy the bridges across the Hellespont, as they in fact set out to do after the battle (106.4, 114.1).

98.2–4 Leotychidas urges the Ionians to join the Greeks

Leotychidas' strategy of encouraging the Ionians is modelled on that of Themistocles before Salamis (H. explicitly says this, 98.4), and there are a few verbal echoes between the two speeches (98.3, 98.4 nn.). But whereas Themistocles' 'inscription' gave a series of options (8.22.2), this speech of Leotychidas is elliptical and never actually tells them what they are to do. Partly this is because of narrative economy: the options had already been presented by Themistocles before, and the strategy was well-known to or easily inferable by H.'s audience.

98.2 **ἀποβάθρας** 'boarding planks' for fighting in the old-fashioned way by grappling and boarding an enemy ship, rather than trying to ram it (cf. Thuc. 1.49).

οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό σφι ἐπαναγόμενος 'no one was seen to be sailing against them'; for ἐπανάγομαι ('put out to sea against') cf. 4.103.1, 7.194.3.

παρακεκριμένον 'drawn up in line'.

ἐγχρίμψας τῶι αἰγιαλῶι τὰ μάλιστα 'bringing his ship as near to the shore as possible'; for τὰ μάλιστα cf. 61.1 n. ἐγχρίμπτω (common in

the *Il.*, cf. e.g. 5.662, 23.334) + dat. means 'bring (something) near (to)'; here understand τὴν νέα; cf. 3.85.3 for a similar ellipsis.

ὑπὸ κήρυκος 'by (the voice of) a herald'. A man would need a stentorian voice to be heard on shore: cf. the Egyptian whom Darius takes with him, φωνέων μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων, who called to Histiaeus across the Danube (4.141).

98.3 ἐπακούοντες 'being within ear-shot' (Shuckburgh) rather than simply 'listening'; so too ἐπακούσας and ἐπακούσαντος below.

πάντως ... οὐδὲν συνήσουσι Πέρσαι 'the Persians will in any case certainly understand nothing'. Here one must assume 'Persians' in the strictest sense, since they would no doubt have had interpreters with them, and it is not unlikely that these would have been Greeks.

ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, μεμνῆσθαί τινα χρὴ ἐλευθερίης: for συμμίσγω in the hostile sense of 'join battle', cf. 48.2; for the indefinite τινα as 'you' cf. 45.3n. Themistocles told the Ionians to remember their kinship with the Athenians and the fact that the Athenians had incurred the enmity of the Persians on their behalf (8.22.2), but such sentiments would be inappropriate for a Spartan.

ἐλευθερίης ... πάντων πρῶτον 'first before all else freedom'. For similar appeals to freedom before a major battle, cf. 60.1n. with references there.

μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος Ἥβης 'and thereafter, the watchword Hebe'; this zeugma ('remember freedom and the password') lends something of a bathetic effect, the pragmatic σύνθημα in sharp contrast with the abstract and emotive ἐλευθερίης. Watchwords were usually the name of a deity (cf. Xen. *An.* 1.8.16; 6.5.25; 7.3.39); Roscher's Ἥρης has been widely adopted, from the notion that Hera was a more appropriate goddess to invoke here, since 'the famous Heraion had been the starting-point of the Greek fleet, and stood behind their line of battle' (HW ad loc.). Yet Hebe was the daughter of Zeus and Hera (Hes. *Theog.* 922, 952) and the wife of Heracles on Olympus (*Od.* 11.603), 'and so might well have charms for a Herakleid on earth' (Macan ad loc.); in addition, her name connoted youthful martial vigour.

98.4 ὡυτὸς ... οὗτος ... νόος ... καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος: 'this plan was the same as that of Themistocles'. For this sense of νόος cf. 3.122.1, 6.12.3; for ὁ αὐτός ... καί = 'the same ... as', cf. 33.5n.

ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὁ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίωι: 98.2n.

ἢ . . . λαθόντα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔμελλε τοὺς Ἴωνας πείσειν: for the similar intention of Themistocles cf. 8.22.3, where there are also several verbal echoes.

ἢ ἔπειτε ἀνενειχθέντα ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ποιήσειν ἀπίστους τοῖσι Ἕλλησι: ἀπίστους here has its active sense, 'mistrustful of'; cf. 1.8.2. This passage has often been thought an interpolation modelled on 8.22 (so Macan 796–7, HW 330), but this section is full of echoes of earlier remarks, and repetition is hardly foreign to H.'s style.

99 The Greeks begin the attack

99.1 προσσχόντες τὰς νέας 'beaching their ships'.

οὗτοι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο: Leotychidas had to improvise a land army from the hoplites serving as marines on his ships: these probably numbered no more than 3,300 (calculating 30 marines for each of his 110 ships: see Hignett 52–3, 254–5). The number of marines on a trireme does not seem to have been fixed: Plut. *Them.* 14.2 says that the Athenian ships at Salamis had 14 hoplites and 4 archers each (perhaps an anachronism), yet H. says that the Chian fleet at Lade in 494 had 40 marines on each ship (6.15.1).

τὰ Ἑλλήνων φρονέειν 'were sympathetic to the Greek cause'; cf. 2.3n.

99.2 αἰχμαλώτων . . . τοὺς ἔλαβον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελειμμένους: this incident must have happened in the previous summer of 480 when Xerxes took Athens, but there is no mention of prisoners there. λελειμμένους suggests that, like the citizens on the Acropolis (8.51.2), they had been poor men, or those whom some religious obligation kept at their post.

ὑποψίην εἶχον 'they were suspected'; only here and at 3.52.4 in H., where, however, it has its active meaning; both uses were common: see LSJ s.v. ὑποψία 1.

κεφαλάς 'persons'; only here and at 3.29.2 does the word have this meaning.

99.3 τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι: for Persian suspicions to make sense, not all of the Greek inhabitants of Miletus can have emigrated to Sicily, been sold into slavery, deported to Mesopotamia, or killed, as H. claims happened when the city was destroyed in 494 (6.19–22). The city was rebuilt about ten years later, and either some of the original inhabitants must have returned at that time or other Greeks may have been invited in as new settlers.

δῆθεν 'as they pretended', the particle indicating the pretext on which the Persians acted; cf. 66.3n.

μάλιστα 'better than anyone else'.

ἐποίευν . . . ἵνα . . . ἔωσι: for the subjunctive in a purpose clause after a secondary verb, cf. 51.3n.

τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκεον νεοχμὸν ἄν τι ποιέειν 'who they strongly believed would work some harm'; καταδοκέω nowhere else in H. takes the dative (Powell s.v.); Stein's idea that it is probably modelled on συνειδέναι + dat. is attractive. The phrase νεοχμὸν . . . ποιέειν, lit. 'to do something new', is used only here and at 104 by H. (but cf. the verb νεοχμῶ, 4.201.2, 5.19.2); like Latin *nouus*, νέος can have the sinister sense of 'strange, untoward, evil' (LSJ s.v. II.2).

δυνάμιος ἐπιλαβομένοισι 'if they found the occasion'; a rare sense of δύναμις. For a similar expression, cf. 3.36.3.

συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἕρκος εἶναι σφίσι: as they had done at Plataea (cf. 61.3n. on the γέρρα). Presumably, as in that earlier passage, the Persians here 'bring together' their shields and plant them side-by-side, each man standing behind his own shield, to make a defensive wall for themselves. As this screen of shields was outside of their fortified camp, it is odd that the Persians did not attempt to attack the Greeks as they disembarked from their ships. Cf. Thuc. 4.10.5, where Demosthenes reminds his men that it is impossible to force a naval landing against opponents who stand their ground.

100–101 The rumour of victory at Plataea

H. claims that a rumour reporting that the Greeks had been victorious at Plataea reached the Greek army at Mycale, and a herald's wand was seen lying on the beach. We cannot know, of course, what the Greeks at Mycale thought they heard or saw. For an earlier φήμη, cf. 17.3, where a rumour goes through the Greek contingents serving with Mardonius. But this episode is clearly more elaborate, and has both a literary and a religious aspect. H. had good Homeric antecedents for such an occurrence, since Rumour (Ὄσσα) is mentioned as a goddess in both epics: *Il.* 2.93–4 for 'Rumour, the messenger of Zeus'; cf. *Od.* 1.282–3; 24.413. These Homeric parallels, though brief, might have their influence, not only on H. and his contemporaries, but on the Greeks themselves serving at Mycale. Just as important, if not more so, is the interpretation of this incident as an aspect of Greek religious belief. This is difficult because there are only a

very few cases in antiquity where the issue of a battle is said to have been supernormally apprehended before any message could have arrived (see Dodds 1973: 173). Φήμη is the heaven-sent rumour that runs through a crowd, which Aeschines (in a speech of 345) says occurs 'when the mass of the people, spontaneously and without any apparent reason, say that a certain thing has taken place' (2.145). She was personified as a goddess and had her own altar at Athens (Aeschin. 1.128; Paus. 1.17.1 claims to have seen it). This is particularly relevant to Mycale, since the scholiast on Aeschin. connects the establishment of this altar with the announcement to the Athenians of Cimon's double victory on land and sea at the Eurymedon river in Pamphylia (*c.* 466) on the very day on which it occurred, 'whence they first erected an altar to Φήμη as to a god' (279a, p. 46 Dilts). Whether the altar was indeed connected with Cimon's campaign cannot be proved, but if the scholiast can be trusted as having relied on a fifth- or fourth-century source, it would confirm that this kind of supernormal phenomenon was discussed and taken seriously by fifth-century Greeks.

Not surprisingly, the rumour is often rationalised or interpreted differently. In antiquity, Ephorus (cf. Diod. 11.35, Polyaen. 1.33) claimed it was a deliberate stratagem of Leotychidas to encourage his troops. Moderns have variously conjectured that it reported the death of Masistius (Grundy 1901: 526), or that the battle of Plataea actually took place before Mycale (HW 331), or that the rumour was part of a later tradition, 'a pious fiction for the edification of the faithful' (Hignett 259). It has even been suggested that Pausanias sent a message by means of a chain of beacon fires (Green 280–2, but implausible, cf. 3.1 n.). The synchronism too has been deemed suspicious (although it, at least, was not doubted by Ephorus: cf. Diod. 11.34.1; Justin 2.14), largely because the Greeks also claimed that the battles of Himera and Salamis were fought on the same day (H. 7.166; Arist. *Poet.* 23; Diod. 11.24.1, substituting Thermopylae for Salamis; cf. Gauthier 1966). Clearly, these synchronisms serve to heighten the importance of events, and though coincidences do take place, it would be extraordinary if both sets were true. Nor ought we to omit the possibility that H. (or Greek tradition) is finding an earlier parallel for that double victory of Cimon's, for each campaign in its own way marks a decisive stage in the Greek struggle against Persia.

100.1 ὡς . . . παρεσκευάδατο τοῖσι Ἕλλησι 'when the Greeks had made their preparations', but the use of the 3rd pers. pl. (Intr. §7.F.3) is odd in what should be an impersonal construction with the dat. of agent.

φήμη ... ἐσέπτατο: on φήμη, cf. 100–101 n.; the verb ἐσπέτομαι occurs once in Homer (*Il.* 21.494), where it describes the flight of a bird (and the goddess Artemis).

κηρυκήιον ἐφάνη ... κείμενον 'a herald's wand was seen lying'; the narrative manner here is carefully focalised from the Greeks' point of view, without the narrator himself vouching for it; cf. the similar reporting of marvels in battles, 6 117.2–3, 8.84.2, 94.2. The significance is left unspoken, since contemporaries might easily infer that this was the wand of Φήμη herself, left behind as a sign that she had come in person.

ἡ ... φήμη διῆλθε: cf. 17.3, διεξῆλθε .. φήμη

οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν νικῷεν ... μαχόμενοι: since H. says that the battle at Mycale took place after Plataea (101.2), the sense of the verb must be 'are victorious over' (so Stein), cf. 69.1 n.

100.2 δῆλα δὴ πολλοῖσι τεκμηρίοισί ἐστι τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων 'the divine element in [human] affairs is indeed evident by many proofs'. For τὰ θεῖα cf. 65.2n. The emphatic narrator intervention strongly suggests that H. believed that the gods somehow conveyed the truth to the Greeks at Mycale. For H.'s views on the divine in history see Intr. §6c.

τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συμπιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῆισι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκάληι ... τρώματος: although the sense is clear, the expression is somewhat unusual; one would have expected συμπίπτω to agree with the two τρώματα since it was not the day that 'coincided', but rather the defeats of the Persians.

τρώματος 'defeat'; focalised, as before, from the Persian side; cf. 18.2n.

ταύτηι 'there', i.e. at Mycale

101.1 Δήμητρος τεμένεα Ἐλευσινίης παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι: the sanctuary at Mycale is not mentioned again (cf. 97n.). Perhaps it was not immediately adjacent to the battle, but somewhere in the vicinity, and H. exaggerates somewhat to stress the coincidence.

ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται: 62.2, 65.2.

ἔμελλε ... ἔσεσθαι 'was about to happen'; μάχη from the previous clause is the understood subject.

101.2 γεγονέναι ... νίκην 'that the victory had occurred'; the phrase is equivalent to νικῷεν in 100.1 above; the clause is in apposition to φήμη.

πρωὶ ... περὶ δείλην: H. divides the day roughly into four parts, πρωί, δείλη πρωίη (8.6.1), δείλη, and δείλη ὀψίη (8.9), corresponding to morning, midday, afternoon and evening (Shuckburgh). That the battle of Plataea

took place 'early' is consistent with H.'s narrative, where the Persians attack shortly after dawn (56.1, 59.1).

σφι ... ἀναμανθάνουσι 'when they made a detailed inquiry'; a rare verb, and a hapax in H. It suggests careful or minute calculation.

101.3 **ἀρρωδίη ... μή**: cf. 7β.1.

πρὶν ἤ: 64n.

οὕτω ὡς 'so much as'.

μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίωι πταίσηι ἡ Ἑλλάς 'lest Hellas stumble over Mardonius'; the simple form of the verb appears only here, H. elsewhere preferring προσπταίω. περί is unusual, since one finds more often πρός (1.65.2; cf. 6.45.2). The metaphor is taken from wrestling; for the verb as opposite of εὐτυχεῖν cf. 1.65.1 and 3.40.2. For the connection between sport and warfare, cf. 9.2n.

μᾶλλόν τι 'rather more'; H. is fond of this expression: further examples at Powell, s.v. μᾶλλον, 1 c.

ταχύτερον: the Attic comparative θᾶσσον does not appear in H.

ὡς σφι καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἄεθλα προέκειτο 'in as much as both the islands and the Hellespont were being set out as prizes for them'; for ἄεθλα in the sense of the prizes of war cf. 8.93.2. It is not clear why the Greek cities of mainland Asia Minor south of the Hellespont are not included. Since the revolt of Ionia was the immediate consequence of the battle (104), the 'prize' was in fact greater than H. specifies. H. here probably anticipates his own narrative, since immediately after the victory some of the islands are admitted into the Hellenic League (106.4) and the Greek fleet sails for the Hellespont (114).

102–105 The pitched battle

H.'s description of this last battle of the Persian Wars is dramatic, yet the strategies of Tigranes and Leotychidas are left implicit. A detailed reconstruction of the battle is impossible for several reasons. Quite apart from the story of the rumour and the synchronism with Plataea (100–101 n.), there are specific details in the description of the fighting at Mycale that parallel the final battle at Plataea and thus seem suspicious (so Macan; *contra* HW 396, Burn 550, and Hignett 258): the Spartan right wing advances over higher and broken ground, the Athenian left proceeds through the plain; only one wing, this time the Athenian, engages the Persians; the Persians build a wooden palisade (96.3–97), make a wall of shields (102.2–3), and

once again fight bravely. The Greeks with effort push aside the shields of the Persians and pursue them in flight. The Persians take refuge in their palisade (102.3), but a breach is made, and they are eventually overwhelmed. It looks as if H. himself (or the tradition he relied upon) attempted to give the Spartans and Athenians equal and parallel achievements which occurred on the very same day. It is also striking that the Athenians' *aristeia* occurs on Ionian soil, as if to provide further justification for their assumption of leadership over the Delian League in 478/7 (106.2–4n.). There are, of course, differences (stressed by Hignett 258), but the general pattern is the same, and the differences themselves tend to magnify the Athenian achievement: the Spartans at Plataea are on the defensive, but the Athenians lead the attack at Mycale; at Plataea the Spartans cannot breach the Persian fortified camp without Athenian assistance, but at Mycale the Athenians rush into the stockade with the retreating enemy, and the Spartans appear only at the very end of the struggle.

Nonetheless, moderns have tried to make sense of the battle. It has been argued that Leotychidas lured the Persians outside of their fortifications by making his army appear to be even smaller than it was. He did this by having the contingents from Athens, Corinth, Sicyon, and Troezen advance along the beach and coastal plain, while the Lacedaemonians, being out of sight, marched inland across rough country with the intention of eventually swinging down upon Tigranes' left flank (Green 282, borrowing details from Diod.; cf. Burn 549–50). If this was his plan, it did not work out precisely as he had intended, for the battle was almost over by the time the Lacedaemonians arrived on the scene (Grundy 1901: 527; Hignett 256). All of this, however, is a lot to squeeze out of H.'s narrative, and a significant objection is the fact that H. has the Persians establish their shield wall outside their fort *before* the Greeks begin their advance (99.3). Yet even if H.'s account is problematic, one cannot rely on Diod. 11.34–7 (our only other narrative source) for a corrective, for that account, based on Ephorus, displays characteristic biases and inconsistencies (Intr. §5d).

102.1 τοῖσι προσεχέσι τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι 'and those stationed next to them'; for the adjective προσεχής cf. 28.3. Here and in the next section H. deliberately does not name the contingents, referring there to τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων. This narrative omission has the effect of highlighting the Athenians as the leaders and the most important contingent, but it also serves a dramatic purpose: see further 102.3n. As in

his narrative of Plataea, H. focuses on the Athenians and Spartans to the exclusion of other Greek contingents: Intr. §3.

μέχρι κου τῶν ἡμισέων 'up to about half of them', sc. the Greek contingents.

κατ' αἰγιαλόν τε καὶ ἄπεδον χῶρον 'along the shore and flat ground'; for the latter phrase cf. 25.3n.

χαράδραν 'ravine'; a hapax in H.

ἐν ὧι 'while': sc. χρόνωι.

καὶ δή: = ἤδη, as often (6n.).

102.2 ἕως μὲν νυν . . . τῆι μάχηι: the structure of this incident follows closely on that of Plataea. With this particular sentence, cf. 63.1 and 70.2.

οὐδὲν ἔλασσον εἶχον τῆι μάχηι 'they were in no way inferior in the battle'; for the expression cf. 62.3, and for a variation, 70.2. As at Plataea, the extent to which H. emphasises the martial valour of the Persians is remarkable: cf. 62.3–63nn.; 102.3–4.

τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατός: on the paralipsis, 102.1n.; when the sentence resumes after the purpose clause, the plurals here become the subjects of the verb.

ὅκως ἑωυτῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων: τὸ ἔργον here has the sense of 'credit for the action'; cf. 8.102.2. It makes dramatic, not historical, sense for them to have felt this way, since the rumour was only that the Greeks had prevailed, not that the Spartans and Tegeans had the greatest role. The sentence provides evidence of the strongly competitive ethos that motivated states and individuals in Greek culture.

παρακελευσάμενοι 'exhorting one another'.

ἔργου εἴχοντο 'they applied themselves to the task'; ἔχεσθαι + gen. = 'take hold of': cf. 8.11.1, 108.3 and Powell s.v. ἔχω, C.4c.

ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη 'from that very moment'; ἤδη here is emphatic.

ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα 'the affair was transformed', lit. 'the matter was being altered': the verb ἑτεροιόω occurs only in the passive in H. (also at 2.142.4, 7.225.2).

102.3 φερόμενοι 'with a rush'; the verb is commonly used with ἐσπίπτω for attacking or rushing upon: cf. 7.210.2, 8.91.

χρόνον συχνόν: 67n.

ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος: at Plataea the defeated similarly took refuge behind a wall: cf. 70.1.

Ἀθηναῖοι . . . καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι): as a dramatic narrative device, the

postponement (101.2n.) of the names of the contingents with Athens until this point, added to the verbal actions themselves (next n.), contributes to a sense of overwhelming advantage, which is picked up in §4 below, the few Persians contrasted there with the many Greeks. For narrative delay in H. see Intr. §2.

συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσέπιπτον 'pursuing together, they rushed in together [sc. with the Persians]'; a remarkable collocation of words. The rare συνεσπίπτω occurs only here, 3.55.1 (also of attacking a wall) and 3.78.4.

ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραίρητο 'and when even the wall had been captured'; on the form of the verb see Intr. §7.F.7.

οὔτ' ἔτι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο: for τρέπω in this sense cf. 18.2, πρὸς ἄλεξιν ἐτράποντο. Likewise when the palisade at Plataea had fallen, the barbarians gave up the fight: cf. 70.4 with n.; on the Homeric ring of ἀλκή cf. 18.2, 70.4nn.

ὁρμέατο: plpf. (61.1n.), indicating, by contrast with the impf. (ἐτράποντο), the haste with which the barbarians took flight.

οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Περσέων: as at Plataea, the Persians form the bravest and most reliable core, and defeat of them means defeat of the entire force: 68n.

102.4 **κατ' ὀλίγους** 'in groups of a few men'; κατά is distributive in sense; cf. 8.113.3 and above, 62.3 with n.

τοῖσι αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσπίπτουσι Ἑλλήνων 'with those of the Greeks who continually (αἰεί) were rushing into the fortification'.

Ἀρταΰντης ... Ἰθαμίτρης ... Μαρδόντης: the commanders of the fleet (8.130.2). Artaÿntes (who reappears in 107) was the uncle of Ithamitres and had chosen him for this post.

103–104 Services of the Samians and Milesians

103.1 **καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν**: these are the contingents arrayed with the Spartans (roughly half of the line) who had had to make their way over difficult terrain (102.1).

καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδιεχείριζον 'and they helped in accomplishing what remained'; the verb occurs only here in Greek. As at Plataea, the battle is portrayed as largely dependent on the valour of one party (there the Lacedaemonians, here the Athenians), but needing also the cooperation of the others.

ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως 'especially some of the Sicyonians and their general Perilaus'. Why they should have suffered

such casualties cannot be recovered from H.'s narrative, since the Athenians here, as the Spartans at Plataea, tend to dislodge the smaller states from the narrative (Intr. §3). H. is not particularly well informed about the Sicyonians, nor does he have a patronymic for Perilaus; he may have assumed their importance from the fact that they are fifth on the Serpent Column, behind only Athens, Sparta, Corinth and Tegea. For their bravery in the battle, cf. 105n.

103.2 οἱ στρατευόμενοι 'those serving in the forces (sc. of the King)'; for the expression cf. 7.61.1.

καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ ὅπλα 'and deprived of their weapons': cf. 99.1–3; for the unaspirated form, Intr. §7.A.1.

αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχάς: 66.1 n.

ἑτεραλκέα 'doubtful'; only here and at 8.11.3 (ἑτεραλκέως ἀγωνίζεσθαι). By contrast, the word in Homer is mainly used with νίκη, to indicate the tide of victory that is altered by the gods (*Il.* 7.26, 8.171, et al.).

ἔρδον ὅσον ἐδυνέατο: this is vague, and it is difficult to imagine what they could have done without weapons.

προσωφελέειν . . . τοῖσι Ἕλλησι: cf. 68 above, where the verb takes the acc. For the dative, cf. Eur. *Alc.* 41; *Heracl.* 330.

οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες: the only mention of any Greek allies serving at Mycale apart from the Samians and Milesians; here as elsewhere the explanation is to be found in the tendency of H.'s narrative to focus on the chief actors.

οὕτω δή: 15.1 n.

104 ⟨ἐκ⟩ τῶν Περσέων: the supplement is necessary to provide an agent for the plupf. pass. construction.

ἦν ἄρα: 45.2n.

οἷά περ κατέλαβε: narrative prolepsis, cf. Intr. §2.

σώιζωνται 'they might get themselves to safety'.

τι νεοχμὸν ποιέοιεν: 99.3n.

ἄλλας . . . κατηγεόμενοί σφι ὁδοὺς φεύγουσι 'leading them in their flight down different paths'; κατηγέομαι regularly takes a dative of the person (Powell s.v. 2).

αἳ δὴ ἔφερον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους 'which in fact led into the midst of their enemies'; for ἐς in this sense, 76.1 n.

τέλος: adverbial.

πολεμιώτατοι 'their greatest enemy'.

τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη: the first Ionian revolt began in 499, and ended disastrously in 494 (5.30–38, 97–126). It may

be significant that H. avoids stating that the battle of Mycale resulted in the freedom of the Ionians (so Immerwahr 1966: 303, but cf. 98.3n.): for they were soon enough to become subjects of the Athenian empire (see 106.2–4n.).

Ἰωνίη: Ionia, strictly speaking, comprised the central part of the W. coast of Asia Minor, where were situated the twelve cities sharing in the Panionion (the common Ionian sanctuary at Mycale: cf. 1.141–143), including the islands Samos and Chios. Here, however, H. is using 'Ionia' in a much broader sense as including all of the Asiatic Greeks (see Alty 1982, esp. n. 9), the Ionian as well as the Aeolian and Dorian communities. All three ethnic groups had participated in the first Ionian revolt, and all three participated in the second: at 106.4 the Lesbians, who were Aeolians, are admitted into the Hellenic League. H.'s usage is confusing, because he alternates between using Ionia/Ionian in a narrow and in a broad geographical sense, as at 4.136–142 where the Scythians address all of the Greeks as 'Ionians', but H. himself separates them into groups coming from the Hellespont, Ionia, and Aeolia. The term 'Ionians' probably came to be used for all of the Greeks of Asia Minor because they were the most numerous element of the population.

105 The best fighters

105 ἠρίστευσαν: cf. 71.1 n. It is unclear whether H is here recording an official award for valour or is merely giving his own opinion (cf. 71.1–5n.).

παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας 'who had trained for and engaged in the *pankration*', which was a potentially lethal combination of boxing and wrestling; a contestant only won when his opponent either gave in or could not go on. See Poliakoff 1987: 54–63 and, for ancient testimonia, S. G. Miller 1991: 27, 36–9. H. elsewhere often notes the athletic prowess of other brave fighters: cf. 75n.

Ἑρμόλυκον . . . ὕστερον τούτων . . . ἀποθανόντα: Hermolycus, like the Spartan Aeimnestus who slew Mardonius at Plataea (64.2), was eventually killed by his fellow Greeks (next n.). The purpose behind these notices may be to suggest that these men, who so distinguished themselves against the common enemy, should not themselves have fallen in such circumstances. For narrative prolepses see Intr. §2. Paus. (1.23.10) says he saw a statue of Hermolycus on the Athenian acropolis.

κατέλαβε: 75n.

πολέμου ἐόντος Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι: Carystus on Euboea was forced to become a member of the Delian League *c.* 474–472 (Thuc. 1.98.3, with Meiggs 1972: 69–70).

κεῖσθαι 'to be buried'; further examples at Powell s.v. 1.

ἐπι Γεραιστῶι 'on the promotory of Geraestus'; cf. 8.7.1. It is the southernmost headland at the south-east end of Euboea.

Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι: the order is slightly different from 102.3, but this may not be significant, since H. suggests that they are all tied for second place, so to speak. Yet again the Corinthians are mentioned as having performed well in battle (as at Salamis, 8.94.4), but their actions are not recounted in the narrative: Intr. §4.

106.1 Destruction of the Persian camp

106.1 κατεργάσαντο 'killed', a relatively rare meaning for the word in H.; cf. 1.24.4, 5.111.2.

τὴν ληίην προεξαγαγόντες 'having previously removed the booty', i.e., before they set fire to the ships and wall.

θησαυρούς 'money chests'; cf. 7.190.

106.2–4 A council at Samos on the future of Ionia

What is proposed here for the Ionians is a resettlement (an ἀνάστασις, cf. 106.2n.), a wholesale transfer of population from one place to another. There are indications that this was done from earliest times in Greece (Demand 1990: 3–33), and indeed H.'s history contains many actual or proposed resettlements (see below). But this is more than just another transfer of population, both because of the role that Ionia plays in H.'s work and because of the importance to H.'s contemporary audience of Athenian imperial hegemony over the Greeks of Asia. Ionia exists as a middle space between the two great combatants, one of the most important grounds (literally and figuratively) in the conflict between East and West.

The victory over Persia in Asia Minor clearly demanded some response. The generals faced an immediate problem after their decisive victory at Mycale, namely what to do with Ionia now that its liberation had begun. Given that no one could be sure that Xerxes would not attempt another

invasion of mainland Greece itself (cf. Thuc. 1.90 for such fears), and given the failure of the earlier Ionian revolt, it was not absurd for the Peloponnesians to despair of maintaining the independence of Ionia into the future, especially since they themselves failed to send aid to Ionia either in 546 or 499 (1.152–153, 5.49–51). Nor were the Peloponnesians the first to suggest such a resettlement: after Cyrus' conquest of Ionia in 546, Bias of Priene proposed that the Ionians should sail for Sardinia, where 'they would escape subjection, rule over their neighbours and be prosperous' (1.170.2). Some of the Ionians – the Phocaeans (1.164–169), Teians (ibid.), and Samians (6.22–23) – in that same year did in fact migrate to the west. And before the battle of Salamis, the Athenians considered it a plausible threat to the allies that they might emigrate *en masse* to Siris in Italy (8.62–63). Thus the discussion of a wholesale migration is congruent with H.'s previous narrative, and modern scholars as a rule accept it (*ATL* III 188; Hignett 259–61; Burn 551–2, Green 283–5, Meiggs 1972: 34; Alty 1982: 13–14; *contra*, Macan II 339; Meyer 1899: 217 n. 1).

H.'s own attitude to this proposed emigration can be discerned by his earlier remark that the acceptance of Bias' proposal would have made the Ionians the most prosperous people of all the Greeks (1.170.1–2). It is thus reasonable to assume that he also agreed with Bias that if the Ionians remained where they were, they would never be free (ibid.) H. knew when he wrote Book 1 that the Ionians were due for great sorrows, including the destruction of Miletus, during the Ionian revolt of 499–494, and likewise, when he wrote this passage, probably during the early years of the Peloponnesian War (Intr. §1), it was already clear that Bias' prediction would also hold true for the period beyond the ending of his *Histories*. For this entire issue of Ionian resettlement was closely bound up with the origin of and justification for the Athenian empire of the mid-fifth century. As we can tell from Thuc.'s work, the way in which an Athenian leadership in the aftermath of the Persian Wars became, within a brief time, an Athenian empire that ruthlessly enforced its will, was an extremely important topic that provoked fierce discussion. Thuc. (1.97–9) believed that the originally autonomous Ionian members of the Delian League quite soon became the subjects of the Athenian empire, and his history repeats what must have been contemporary characterisations of Athens as a 'a tyrant city' (as the Corinthians call her, Thuc. 1.122.3, cf. 2.63.2, 3.37.2; cf. Tuplin 1985).

It may fairly be questioned, then, whether the incident here redounds to the Athenians' credit, even if they *appear* to be the ones who have the

Ionians' interest at heart. Indeed to H.'s contemporary audience, which saw an Ionia under the fist of the Athenians, the suggestion that a move to Sardinia and an existence as islanders would have brought prosperity and happiness to the Ionians would have been tinged with a bitter irony, for had the Athenians not prevented the move, the Ionians might not at the time of H.'s writing be under their sway. Moreover, since the Spartans had undertaken the Peloponnesian War with the stated aim of liberating Greece (Thuc. 1.139.3; 2.8.4), their suggestion too takes on an ironic cast. However we look at it, the issue was an important one in H.'s time. Diod. 11.37 has a different version of this debate, but it is merely a dramatic elaboration of H. and has no independent value (so Meiggs 1972: 413–14).

106.2 **ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίης** 'an evacuation of Ionia'. H. does not use any single term consistently to refer to relocations of people: see Demand 1990: 34 n.1. Although the Athenians objected to this proposal on behalf of the twelve Ionian cities which they considered to be their colonies, Ionia is probably used here in the broad geographical sense of the whole territory inhabited by the Greeks of Asia Minor (104n.).

ὅκῃ . . . τῆς Ἑλλάδος . . . τῆς αὐτοὶ ἐγκρατέες ἦσαν 'in what part of Greece over which they themselves had control'.

ἀπεῖναι 'to abandon'; on the form, Intr. §7.A.1.

ἐφαίνετό σφι εἶναι: the Athenians will argue that this is in fact not the case; σφι must refer to all the Greeks except the Athenians.

Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι 'to protect the Ionians', i.e., by means of a permanent presence; the metaphor derives from sitting or lying before a place with the intention of guarding it: cf. 7.172.2 (of Thessaly in relation to Greece proper), 8.36.1. The Ionians are depicted throughout the *Histories* as unable to defend themselves, and the Ionian character in H. is ambiguous at best (cf. 1.143; 4.139–142; 6.11–15; cf. Xenophanes, DK 21 B 1 on their luxury). Murray, *CAH* IV²: 471–2, suggests that the emphasis in H. on Ionian timidity and luxury may reflect their own self-image in reaction to the humiliating failure of the first Ionian revolt.

τὸν πάντα χρόνον 'forever': cf. 27.1n.

ἑωυτῶν μὴ προκατημένων: conditional genitive absolute.

χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν 'to get off scot-free [lit. 'rejoicing'] from the Persians'; for the expression cf. 3.69.2. The formulation echoes the thoughts of Bias of Priene (106.2–4n.) on the consequences of the Ionians remaining where they were (1.170.2).

106.3 Πελοποννησίων ... τοῖσι ἐν τέλεϊ ἐοῦσι 'those of the Peloponnesians in office', probably Leotychidas and the generals of the Corinthians, Sicyonians (if they had another beside Perilaus, 103n.), and Troezenians.

τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνέων: a partial list of these peoples is given at 7.132; the largest of the medising cities were Thebes and, if it was to be included, Argos (cf. 8.73).

τὰ ἐμπόρια ἐξαναστήσαντας 'having depopulated the mercantile towns'. The verb usually has a people as its object, but cf. πόλιν ... ἐξαναστήσῃς, 1.155.3. The identity and nature of these mercantile settlements is unclear (thus Legrand's ἔπιπλα – 'movable goods' – deserves consideration). What to do with the evicted inhabitants is not mentioned, although the Peloponnesians may have envisioned either selling them into slavery, or more probably pushing them inland and thus depriving them of access to the sea. Transferring them to the vacant cities of Asia would hardly have been a punishment (Ionia in particular was thought to have the best climate in the world: 1.142.1–2), and it would have increased the power of the King.

δοῦναι ... ἐνοικῆσαι 'to give ... to live in'; for this construction with epexegetic infinitive cf. 2.178.1.

ἀρχήν 'at all' (Powell s.v. ἀρχή 3c).

ἀνάστατον 'depopulated'.

περὶ τῶν σφετέρων ἀποικιέων: from the time of Solon (who calls Athens the 'oldest land of Ionia', *IEG*² F 4a = Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 5), the Athenians claimed that they had colonised Ionia (Thuc. 1.12.4 puts it in the early Dark Age, according to modern reckoning). Although archaeological evidence suggests that Athens was at least the staging ground for the so-called Ionian migration of the 11 th c., it is not sufficient to verify the literary tradition: see Osborne 1996: 32–7; J. Hall 1997: 51–3. The Athenian claim seems only to have acquired political importance just before and just after the Persian invasions. At 5.97.2 Aristagoras of Miletus appeals to the Athenians for assistance on the grounds that Miletus is a colony of Athens, and at 8.22 Themistocles chides the Ionians for making an expedition against 'their fathers' and tells them to remember that 'you came into being from us' (cf. 98.3n.). During the early years of the Delian League (Thuc. 1.95.1), as well as later during the fully developed Athenian empire, claims of kinship served as propaganda to justify Athenian hegemony (Barron 1964; Meiggs 1972: 293–8; J. Hall 1997: 51–6).

106.4 Σαμίους: they had already been admitted into the Hellenic League when the fleet was at Delos (92.1)

τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας: another example of narrative economy: not only are these islands not named, but the Chians and Lesbians are mentioned only here in Book 9. Cf. 114–121 n. for a similar problem.

ἐς τὸ συμμαχικόν 'into the (body of) allies'; the word occurs only once elsewhere, at 6.9.3, of the earlier Ionian alliance against Persia.

πίστι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὁρκίοισι: as they had done with the Samians in 92 above. The sense of καταλαμβάνω here is 'to restrain, bind'.

ἐμμενέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι: these terms imply that the war against Persia would be continued indefinitely under Spartan leadership (Brunt 1993: 64–72; Meiggs 1972: 33–4), yet one may seriously doubt the authenticity of H.'s wording since this provision seems to have been a later formulation which was applied to cities that unsuccessfully revolted from the Delian League (Meiggs 1972: 579–82). Nonetheless, although the terminology may be anachronistic, H., by mentioning a stipulation 'not to revolt', reminds the reader of the revolts that will in fact take place in the future.

τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες the bridges of boats across the Hellespont that Xerxes had constructed in the previous year.

ἔτι γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἐντεταμένας εὑρήσειν: cf. 114.1 and n. ἐντείνω can be used of anything strung or stretched, including bows (2.173.3, 5.25.1).

ἔπλεον: H. leaves it unclear whether the islanders went with them to the Hellespont or sailed back to their own homes.

107 The Persian remnant returns to Sardis; the services of Xenagoras

H.'s account of the quarrel of Masistes and Artaÿntes can be differently interpreted. MAF believes that this scene gives us a rare insight into how the Persians themselves reacted to their defeat. If H. learned of this incident either from Xenagoras himself or from other Halicarnassians to whom Xenagoras had told the story, then this passage has a much greater claim to be authentically representing a Persian perspective on the war than any other contemporary source. Whereas Aesch.'s *Persians* merely represents how some Greeks constructed or imagined the Persian reaction to defeat, here we have what is probably an eye-witness account of Persian reactions, even if it is mediated through Greek eyes. JM, however, puts little faith in the incident: he believes that the germ of the story was knowledge from oral tradition that a certain Xenagoras of Halicarnassus had once done a service to the King for which he was rewarded with the tyranny of Cilicia. Like many oral traditions, it was not linked to any particular time, although it may have

been associated with Masistes. When H. came to put together his narrative, the placement of the story here was suggested by the one that follows, which not coincidentally features Masistes in a reversal of roles (see 113.1 n.); there is a further link by nomenclature in the last three stories: Artaÿntes here, Artaÿnte in the next story, and Artaÿctes in the final narrative.

107.1 κατειληθέντων 'cooped up' (cf. 31.5n.), most likely because they had seen that the enemy was in control; these must be the ones whom the Milesians were not successful in luring to the enemy (104).

κομιδή 'conveyance'; cf. 7.170.2, 229.2, 8.19.2 et al.

Μασίστης: the son of Darius and Atossa (the daughter of Cyrus the Great); he is listed at 7.82, 121 as one of the six generals in overall command of Xerxes' army, but has not been mentioned since then. H. here introduces him as a loyal supporter of his brother, the King; a fact which makes his imminent downfall (108–113n.) seem all the more tragic and unjust. Given his prominence as one of the six, it is puzzling that he reappears here without so much as a passing mention of what his role at Mycale might have been.

καὶ γυναικὸς κακίω φὰς αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιαῦτα στρατηγήσαντα 'saying that he, who had conducted his command in such a way, was worse than a woman'; τοιαῦτα is an internal acc. For the reproach here cf. 20n.

τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον κακώσαντα 'because he had harmed the house of the King'; he was thus the opposite of a 'benefactor' of the King (18.3n.). The phrase 'the house of the King' occurs elsewhere in H. (5.31.4; 8.102.2–3) and in Thuc. (1.129.3); it may be an authentic Persian expression: see ML 12 (= Fornara 35, Brosius 198) ll. 15–17 (Darius' letter to Gadatas) and Philochorus, *FGrHist* 328 F 149a (a royal rescript). The range of meaning is broad, designating both the immediate household of the King (as at 8.102.2–3) and his dominions. For the contrast with Masistes in the next episode see 113.1 n.

ἀκοῦσαι 'to be called'; cf. 79.1 n.

δέννος 'reproach', a rare word, and only here in H; the verb δεννάζειν is more common: Theog. 1211; Soph. *Ant.* 759, *Aj.* 243.

107.2 ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἤκουσε 'when he had heard more than enough' (Macan).

δεινὰ ποιεύμενος: 33.5n.

σπᾶται ... τὸν ἀκινάκην 'draws his scimitar'; σπάω is mainly poetic (Hom. *Il.* 16.473; *Od.* 22.74 et al.; Soph. *Aj.* 769; Eur. *Orest.* 1194); on the ἀκινάκης cf. 80.2n.

φρασθείς 'observing', the usual meaning in mid. and pass. (Powell s.v. 4a).

ἀνὴρ Ἁλικαρνησσεύς: this story perhaps derives from an oral tradition which H. had heard from local sources in his hometown.

ἁρπάζει μέσον 'grasps him around the middle'.

ἐν τούτωι: sc. χρόνωι.

δορυφόροι: a bodyguard is a mark of authority and high status; apart from the King himself (cf. 112), Persian grandees might also have them (1.113.3; 3.128.3; 5.33.2 and cf. Briant 1996: 272–3, 338–9).

107.3 χάριτα αὐτῶι τε Μασίστηι τιθέμενος καὶ Ξέρξηι 'storing up favour both with Masistes himself and Xerxes'; cf. 60.3n.

Κιλικίης πάσης ἦρξε: the former ruler was Syennesis, the son of Oromedon (H. 7.98), who was killed at Salamis (Aesch. *Pers.* 326). Since Syennesis was actually an hereditary title which appears again in the early 4th c. (Xen. *An.* 1.2; cf. *Cyr.* 7.4.2), Krueger, assuming hereditary succession, emended the text to Λυκίης. It may be, however, that Xenagoras was an interloper in the royal line.

δόντος βασιλέος: Greeks who served the King well were richly rewarded, primarily with grants of land and cities: see further 109.3n. and Hornblower 1983: 18–19. Most famously, Themistocles was given Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus (Thuc. 1.138.5). Demaratus, the exiled Spartan king, and Gongylus of Eretria were also given cities (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6), as was Theomestor, 90.1n.

οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο: H. means that this was the only noteworthy event he could discover about this retreat. For the expression cf. 121 with n.

ἐτύγχανε: suggestions of τύχη are strikingly prominent in this story: cf. τευξομένη (108.1), ἐτύγχανε (108.2), τεύξεσθαι (109.3), ἀτυχῆσαι (111.1), τυγχάνει (111.3).

ἐξ Ἀθηνέων . . . φυγών: 1n.

προσπταίσας τῆι ναυμαχίηι: the reference is to Salamis; on the verb cf. 101.3n.

108–113 Xerxes and Masistes' wife

This story is linked to the previous narrative by the figure of Masistes, who had just abused Artayntes for his failure at Mycale. In its intertwining of passion and power, it echoes the first extended narrative of the *Histories*,

that of King Candaules of Lydia and his servant Gyges (1.8–10), with which it shares various verbal and thematic links. Like that earlier story, it also contains a number of folk-tale motifs (Aly 1921: 202–3; Wolff 1964. 55–8; Cartledge 1993: 84–6): a coveted object brings ruin to its owner; a binding promise entails destruction; and a character is forced to comply against his will. It provides an object-lesson in the despotism which the Greeks had so narrowly avoided. Together with the following story of Artayctes (116–120n.), it shows the Persians 'once more seeking to ignore or transgress the limits customarily set by Greeks on sexual, domestic, and political behavior' (Dewald 1997: 69), and fulfilling their characterisation as 'men who reverenced neither gods nor divinities' (76.2). It is also H.'s concluding judgement on Xerxes himself, who here appears as the antithesis of the 'hard' Persian described by Cyrus in the concluding chapter (Erbse 1992: 90–1; cf. 122n.). Xerxes' behaviour recalls that of Cambyses (see Immerwahr 1966: 167–87), and strongly contrasts in this Book with that of Pausanias, who in victory displays restraint and moderate behaviour towards women (76n.). H., as is his way, does not make these connections explicit, but this and the following story, coming so close after the events of Plataea and Mycale, can hardly fail to highlight the great differences between the Greek and Persian way of life, between the freedom of the Greek city-state, where men make their own decisions, acting as independent entities, and despotism, which imposes adherence to the will of another and brings indiscriminate destruction without recourse.

Such narratives of Persian royal women, it has been suggested, do not give us an accurate portrayal of their lives and influence (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983; Briant 1987, 1989, Brosius 1996: 1–3), but rather reflect the Greek tendency to construct an image of the Orient as female, decadent, and weak, and its royal women as cruel, violent, powerful, and vengeful: cf. H.'s belief that Atossa, for example, had complete power (ἡ γὰρ Ἄτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος, 7.3.4; cf. 3.133–134). It is possible, however, that modern scholars have been too critical of Greek depictions of Persian women. The political influence of royal wives can be seen elsewhere as, for example, in the Hausa women of Kano in Northern Nigeria. Not only do these women exercise power and authority over the members of their household, but the senior wife in particular can have considerable political influence with her husband, the *emir*, at times even influencing the succession (Mack 1991, esp. 127).

The story may conceal a genuine Persian tradition that Masistes *tried to rebel from Xerxes and seize the kingship for himself* (so

Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983: 28–9). However that may be, at the time when H. composed this episode both he and his audience will have known that in 465 Xerxes himself was assassinated in a palace coup and his son Darius was subsequently executed for alleged complicity (Diod. 11.69 and 11.71.1; Ctes., *FGrHist* 688 F 13.33; Arist. *Pol.* 1311 b38; Justin 3.1). The significance and irony of the scene are, therefore, heightened by the reader's knowledge that the King will eventually lose control over his court (see Wolff 1964).

108.1 **ἤρα** 'fell in love with', or, more accurately, 'developed a passion for'. ἐρῶ occurs but five times in H., and when a person is its object it indicates a forbidden passion: Mycerinus for his daughter (2.131.1); Cambyses for his sister (3.31.2, cf. 6); Xerxes here for his sister-in-law. The one possible exception is 1.8.1, used of Candaules' feelings towards his wife, but it is clear there that his passion is so unusual that it leads him to behave παρὰ νόμον.

τῆς Μασίστεω γυναικός: throughout the narrative H. carefully avoids giving her name, even if it sometimes means employing an awkward periphrasis. In the next section, by contrast, H. immediately names Artaynte, Masistes' daughter. By giving in to Xerxes' (and her own) passion, the daughter oversteps the bounds of modesty and with them, the 'protection' of anonymity afforded to honourable women; the wife, on the other hand, who had kept her honour and is horribly punished, is correspondingly given anonymity, just as H. had done with the woman from Cos who had appealed to Pausanias (76.1 n.).

οἱ προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι 'she could not be conquered by him, despite his (repeated) messages'; κατεργάζω usually means 'make' or 'conquer' (but cf. 106.1 n.), and is rarely used of people. With προσπέμποντι understand ἀγγέλους or the like; the verb only here in H.

προμηθεόμενος 'respecting'; cf. 2.172.5.

τὠυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο εἶχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα 'and this same thing was supporting the woman as well'. For ἔχω in this sense, cf. 12.2; for other examples, Powell s.v. A.III. τὠυτό is explained in the γάρ clause that follows.

εὖ γὰρ ἐπίστατο βίης οὐ τευξομένη 'for she well knew that she would not meet with force'; for this sense of τυγχάνω, LSJ s.v. B.II.1; cf. 107.3n.

ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων 'being barred from the other things', i.e., his previous ways of attempting to win over the wife; ἔργω has the sense of 'keep away from', cf. 7.197.2.

πρήσσει τὸν γάμον τοῦτον 'he arranges this marriage'; τοῦτον is anticipatory; θυγατέρα is in apposition with this clause: see Smyth §991. For the Ionic πρήσσει (≈ Att. πράττει) cf. Intr. §§7.B.2, C.1.

Δαρείωι: was the eldest son of Xerxes and crown prince; he is possibly depicted as such standing behind Xerxes on the Treasury Reliefs from Persepolis (*CAH* iv².77). In 465 he was falsely accused of complicity in his father's assassination and was executed by his younger brother Artaxerxes, who then succeeded as King (see 108–113n.).

δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι 'thinking that he would have a better chance of getting her'; for the Ionic future cf. Intr. §7.F.7.

108.2 ἁρμόσας 'betrothing'.

τὰ νομιζόμενα 'the usual rites (of marriage)', ironic since Xerxes is in no way behaving according to custom, but rather παρὰ νόμον. Cf. Gyges' words at 1.8.4: καὶ σέο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων.

ἠγάγετο ἐς ἑωυτοῦ: sc. οἶκον: 'he led into his own house'; the verb is the usual word for the action of a bridegroom: cf. 6.69.1, and 1.34.3, where Croesus arranges a marriage for his son, ἄγεται ... τῶι παιδὶ γυναῖκα. In both instances the action precipitates disaster.

ἐπέπαυτο: sc. ἐρῶν.

διαμειψάμενος 'changing his mind', with, however, the sense of 'exchanging one thing for another' that is implicit in the verb.

ἐτύγχανε: 107.3n.

οὔνομα δὲ τῆι γυναικὶ ταύτηι ἦν Ἀρταΰντη: cf. 108.1n.

109.1 ἀνάπυστα γίνεται 'become known'; for the phrase, 6.64, 6.66.3.

φᾶρος: articles of clothing often serve the purpose of clues to identity or otherwise unknown facts, as often in Greek tragedy; cf. Aly 1921: 202.

θέης ἄξιον: 25.1n.

109.2 ἡσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ταύτηι 'and pleased with this one too'; on the motif of pleasure, see 108–113n.

ὅ τι βούλεταί οἱ γενέσθαι 'whatever she wishes to have'; οἱ refers to Artaynte (= αὐτῆι), and is dative of possession.

ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῶι ὑπουργημένων 'in return for the favours rendered to him'.

πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι αἰτήσασαν 'for whatever she demanded she would obtain'; on τεύξεσθαι cf. 107.3n.

τῆι δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἔδεε πανοικίηι γενέσθαι: 'and since it was necessary for her together with her entire household to come out badly'. γάρ is anticipatory (31.2n.) and πανοικίηι is adverbial ('together with one's household'), and occurs twice elsewhere, 7.39.1 and 8.106.3. For a similar expression of a 'fated' bad end, cf. 1.8.2, χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύληι γενέσθαι κακῶς, and for the explanatory power of ἔδεε cf. 16.4n., 101.1n., Gould 1989: 73–82 and Intr. §6c. Strangely, we are never told the daughter's fate.

πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνην αἰτήσεσθαι 'thinking that she would demand anything rather (than what she did)'.

ὑπισχνέεται καὶ ὤμοσε: the change in tense is noteworthy; the first is a vivid present, the second an aorist that emphasises the rapidity and decisiveness of the fatal action.

ἀδεῶς 'without fear', i.e. of the consequences. Note how Artaÿnte's choice, however, quickly precipitates fear on Xerxes' part (109.3).

αἰτέει τὸ φᾶρος: H. does not say that this was the 'royal robe', which, according to Plut. *Artax.* 5.3, it was forbidden for anyone but the King to wear. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983: 29, however, concludes that Artaÿnte is effectively asking for the kingship on behalf of her father, since the first act of any pretender to the throne is to put on the royal robe.

109.3 παντοῖος ἐγίνετο 'used every device'; the adj. means 'of all kinds' (cf. 90.2n.); when used of persons it means 'takes all possible shapes' or 'tries every sort of thing'; cf. 3.124.2, 7.10γ.1.

κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ... δέ 'for no other reason than': on this type of paratactic construction, cf. 44.2n.

φοβεόμενος δὲ Ἄμηστριν: H.'s earlier reference to her had her burying alive fourteen noble Persian boys 'as an offering in place of herself to the god said to be under the earth' (7.114.2), an action that well prepares for her savagery here.

μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσηι τὰ γινόμενα οὕτω ἐπευρεθῆι πρήσσων 'lest he be discovered behaving in this way by her who had even before this suspected what was happening'; the dative participle here is of agent, and the prefix κατ- intensifies the verb ('strongly suspecting').

πόλις: a city, for the recipient either to govern directly or merely to enjoy its revenues, was a typical gift of a Persian king: e.g. 2.98.1, 8.85.3, and above, 107.3n.; Thuc. 1.138.5; Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6. See further Briant 1985; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988.

ἐδίδου 'he offered to give', the imperfect of repeated attempts.

στρατόν: there is, in fact, no evidence that a Persian woman ever commanded any part of an army; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988 argues, on the basis of two Babylonian texts, that the key issue was the territory on which the soldiers were to live. The rents from this territory, like the revenues of a city, could thus be a substantial source of wealth and income.

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε 'but since he could not persuade'; cf. 27.4n., 113.2n.

διδοῖ: coming after the impf. ἔπειθε, with its suggestion of futile repetition, the present tense (on the form, Intr. §7.F.8) emphasises the fatal act that precipitates what follows.

110.1 οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον 'had no grudge against'.

ἐλπίζουσα 'supposing'; Powell s.v. 1 notes that in all ten uses of the word in this sense in H., the supposition is wrong. H. leaves unclear precisely what Amestris suspected, but most likely she thought that the mother had arranged for her daughter's affair with Xerxes.

110.2 φυλάξασα 'awaiting' (Powell s.v. 4).

τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς 'her own husband'. The fullness of the expression emphasises that it is Xerxes who has transgressed the accepted standards of husbandly behaviour and the reciprocity that exists between husband and wife. Amestris acts on her own behalf to rectify the imbalance, and thus to protect her own position and authority within the family: see Dewald 1981: 107.

προτιθέμενον 'serve' (Powell s.v. 2).

ἐγένετο 'was born'. In his discussion of Persian customs H. says that Persians celebrate their birthdays more than any other day (1.133.1), and on it they give a great feast. This βασιλήιον δεῖπνον is a more elaborate version of that of the ordinary man. But the custom of the King granting each dinner guest his wish is not mentioned by any other source. Plut. *Artax* 27.3 claims that the person appointed as the King's successor could ask for a gift and that the king had to give it, 'if it should be possible' (cf. Briant 1996: 330–1), but H. clearly has something different in mind.

Περσιστὶ μὲν τυκτά, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν τέλειον: Persian *tacht*; τέλειον here has the sense of 'complete', 'perfect', suggesting possibly the completion of another year of the King's life. For a similar bilingual offering, 8.85.3 H. did not know Persian: see Meyer 1892–9: 1.194–5.

τὴν κεφαλὴν σμᾶται 'anoints his head with oil'; σμάω has the sense of 'wipe clean with soap or unguent': cf. the Scythian practice after a burial of cleansing their heads and bodies: σμησάμενοι τὰς κεφαλάς (4.73.2).

110.3 δεινόν τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἐποιέετο: on ἐποιέετο cf. 45.1 n.; for ἀνάρσιον see 37.1 n.

τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ: 26.2n.

συνῆκε *'he understood at once'; as so often with verbs of mental activity*, the aorist emphasises an immediate apprehension.

111.1 μέντοι γε: unlike ἀλλά, μέντοι 'seldom goes so far as to eliminate, or seriously invalidate, the opposed idea' (*GP* 405); so here, despite Xerxes' knowledge of Amestris' intentions (expressed in the previous sentence), he nevertheless hands over Masistes' wife. The juxtaposition of μέντοι and

γε is not common in Greek (cf. 1.187.2 for the other example in H.), the particles more often being separated by one or two words: cf. 1.104.2, and for more examples of each, *GP* 405.

ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος: on the motif of compulsion, cf. Gyges' words to Candaules' queen, ἱκέτευε μή μιν ἀναγκαίηι ἐνδέειν διακρῖναι τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν (1.11.3).

ἀτυχῆσαι: 107.3n.

σφι 'among them'; by using plural not singular H. emphasises that a nation's custom is at stake: Xerxes, like everyone else, must submit to 'custom, the ruler of all' (3.38.4).

κατανεύει 'he nods assent'; the verb is Homeric, used of the god granting a request (cf. *Il.* 1.514, 15.374; *Od.* 13.133); it is very rare in prose (Plato *Rep.* 350e3 seems to be literal) and only here in H. As with Zeus' promise to Thetis at *Il.* 1.514, Xerxes' promise cannot be revoked, no matter how much damage it brings in its wake. The use of the word reinforces the sense of irony, since Xerxes at his greatest moment of impotence is described in a language reserved for the gods.

κελεύει: again, ironic, given that Xerxes is himself being ordered.

111.2 δοκέει 'seem good'.

μὴ ἔχε γυναῖκα 'do not have her as (your) wife'.

111.3 ἀποθωμάσας τὰ λεγόμενα: cf. 1.11.3, Gyges' reaction to the queen's speech: ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα.

ὦ δέσποτα . . . θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι;: an extraordinary sentence, with a series of piled-up clauses emphasising the disbelief of Masistes. The sentence is framed by the chiasmus of κελεύων με γυναῖκα . . . ταύτην με κελεύεις, and its heart is a series of three clauses, two subordinate and one independent, emanating from the noun γυναῖκα, each of which reveals an important aspect of the woman's relationships to Masistes and Xerxes: she is the mother of Masistes' children (ἐκ τῆς μοι παῖδες), the mother-in-law of Xerxes' son (τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῶι παιδὶ . . . ἠγάγεο γυναῖκα), and the helpmate and partner of Masistes himself (αὐτή . . . μοι κατὰ νόον . . . κάρτα). The structure of the speech emphasises the complex web of royal relationships in which his wife is involved, a web that Xerxes has destroyed by his unmeasured *eros*.

ἄχρηστον 'useless' but also with the sense of 'wrong': cf. 27.1n.

αὐτή τέ μοι κατὰ νόον τυγχάνει κάρτα ἐοῦσα 'and she herself happens to be very much to my liking'; on τυγχάνει cf. 107.3n.; on the phrase κατὰ νόον (lit. 'according to my mind') cf. LSJ s.v. 3; the noun νόος can

also denote the seat of the emotions. For the value of this type of like-mindedness (*homophrosyne*) between husband and wife, cf. *Od.* 6.182–5 and Austin 1975: 200–38.

111.4 μέγα ... ποιεῦμαι ἀξιεύμενος 'I consider it a great thing that I am deemed worthy'; cf. 42.2n.

σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιῶ 'do not in any way use force'; the verb is contracted 2nd pers. imperative of βιάομαι (≈ Att. βιάζομαι); cf. 108.1 where Xerxes hesitates to use force (βίην) against Masistes' wife. Masistes' tone is, to say the least, impolitic, since we may wonder whether even a brother was in the habit of speaking to the King so bluntly, much less of refusing his requests.

111.5 θυμωθείς: so Xerxes was described in respect to Leonidas (7.238), where his anger leads him to outrage the corpse, and to Artabanus (7.11.1), when the latter tries to dissuade him from invading Greece, and to Pythius the Lydian when he asks for the release of one of his sons (7.39.1). On this aspect of Xerxes' character cf. Flory 1987: 23ff.; Cobet 1971: 173–4.

οὕτω τοι ... πέπρηκται 'so it has been done by you', i.e. 'so you have wanted it'; it is characteristic of Xerxes in this story that he assigns responsibility to others rather than himself.

οὔτε ἐκείνηι πλεῦνα χρόνον συνοικήσεις 'nor will you dwell much longer with her', i.e., his present wife. The words are a threat, of course, but also a prediction that comes true: cf. 113.1n.

τὰ διδόμενα: the words ironically recall the King's birthday celebration and his obligation to give gifts on it. First he gives a gift he does not wish to, then he cannot make another accept a gift he wants to give.

εἴπας τοσόνδε ἐχώρεε ἔξω 'departed saying only so much'.

δέσποτα, οὐ δή κού με ἀπώλεσας 'Master, surely you have not destroyed me'. ἀπώλεσας is an instantaneous aorist, which must be represented in Eng. by the perfect (Smyth §1940). The sentence is sometimes punctuated as a question ('Master, can it be that you have already destroyed me?'), but the remark is, as Shuckburgh observed, 'an exclamation, wrung from Masistes by a sudden conviction that his wife has already been attacked'. In the next sentence he runs home already expecting that something has happened to his wife. The remark can be taken also as a threat that he had some resources left (as later events suggest): to wit, 'As long as I am still alive, I can take revenge for any evils I may suffer'.

112 ἐν δὲ τούτωι τῶι διὰ μέσου χρόνωι 'during the intervening time'; the expression only here and 8.27.1.

τούς τε μαζοὺς . . . ἐκταμοῦσα: mutilation of the nose and ears appears elsewhere in H. (2.162.5, 3.118.2, 154.2), and was a common punishment under the oriental monarchies, especially for rebels (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983: 29, and esp. West 1997: 430). On the Behistun inscription, Darius says of two rebel kings: 'I cut off his nose and ears and tongue, and put out one eye ... afterwards I impaled him' (Column II §32–3; Kent 1953: 124; Brosius 44). Similar mutilations are described at Hom. *Od.* 18.83–7; cf. 22.473–6, of Melanthius, who has his nose, ears and genitals cut off, but H. is not likely to be thinking of Homeric parallels here.

113.1 ἐλπόμενος: 110.1n.

ἐσπίπτει: 102.4n.

διεφθαρμένην 'mutilated', but as the primary meaning of the passive of διαφθείρω in H. is 'killed', we are certainly to assume that Masistes' wife did not survive Amestris' treatment.

καὶ δή κου 'and indeed I suppose': κου marks a straightforward inference on the narrator's part, since it would be unthinkable that Masistes would go with just himself and his sons. For other examples, cf. 6.11.1, 128.2, 7.12.1.

ὡς ἀποστήσων . . . ποιήσων: for ὡς + fut. participle to express ascribed intention, 4.2n.; cf. 18.1n.

νομόν 'province'. At 3.92.2 H. says that Bactria was the twelfth province of the Persian empire and it paid an annual tribute of 360 talents.

ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέα: highly ironic, given that Masistes himself had excoriated Artayntes in the previous episode for bringing harm upon the King's house (107.1 with n.).

113.2 τά περ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο 'the very things which would in fact have happened'.

ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν: on narrative intrusions, see Intr. §2. H.'s reasoning here may have been conditioned by the knowledge that after the assassination of Xerxes in 465, Bactria rose in (unsuccessful) rebellion: Ctes., *FGrHist* 688 F 14.35, with *CAH* IV².173–4.

εἴ περ ἔφθη ἀναβάς 'if in fact he had reached in time': for φθάνω used intransitively with a participle as equivalent to 'in time', see Powell s.v. 2. ἀναβάς, lit. 'going up', is used for the journey into the interior of Asia.

ὕπαρχος 'satrap'.

ἀλλὰ γάρ 'but it did not happen, because': for a similar ellipsis with ἀλλὰ γάρ cf. 27.4n.

τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν ἐκείνου: H. is using στρατιή here loosely to refer to Masistes' retinue, the τισι καὶ ἄλλοισι of 113.1. It is possible that a small force

had escorted Masistes' family from Bactria to Sardis where they awaited his return from Greece.

κατὰ μὲν . . . τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο: for this type of closural clause see 107.3.

114–121 The siege of Sestos

The narrative of Greek actions resumes from 106.4. The Athenians now go to Sestos without their allies (but see below) and lay siege to the town, finally taking it after a long time. This campaign is parallel to previous Athenian acts of aggression after major victories: after Marathon, Miltiades sails to Paros to try to extort money from these islanders (6.132–135), and after Salamis Themistocles behaves similarly, demanding from the Parians and other islanders money for himself (8.110–112). Sestos is thus in a sense only the culmination of the Athenian movement towards imperialism; McCullough 1982 argues that already after Marathon the Athenians reveal their future selves. As to the allies, H. says they did not go to Sestos, but Thuc. 1.89.2 says that 'the Athenians and the allies from Ionia and the Hellespont, who had now revolted from the King, remained and besieged Sestos which was held by the Medes'. These versions are probably complementary, rather than incompatible: cf. *HCT* and Hornblower, *CT*, ad loc. If Thuc. is right that some of the Asiatic Greeks assisted the Athenians in the siege of Sestos, the omission in H.'s account would not be surprising, since he everywhere focuses on the Spartans and the Athenians to the exclusion of other states (Intr. §3).

114.1 ὁρμηθέντες . . . ὅρμεον 'having set out . . . were lying at anchor'; for a similar collocation of these two verbs cf. 7.22.1, ἐν . . . Ἐλαιοῦντι . . . ὅρμεον τριήρεες, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμώμενοι, κτλ.

περὶ Λεκτόν: Lekton is the southwest promontory of the Troad: see Thuc. 8.101.3 with *HCT* ad loc.

ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες 'driven off course by the winds'; ἀπολαμβάνω generally means 'to catch', but the sense here is clear from the use of the same phrase at 2.115.4.

τὰς γεφύρας εὗρον διαλελυμένας: cf. 106.4. The reader has known this since 8.117.1 where it was reported that the Persians, on their retreat from Greece, found the bridges destroyed by storms.

οὐκ ἥκιστα 'primarily', which suggests other reasons, though none have before been given: at 106.4 it is expressly to destroy the bridges that the Greeks sail for the Hellespont. H. may be thinking of the subsequent actions of the Athenians who used the opportunity to drive the Persians from Sestos.

114.2 τοῖσι . . . ἀμφὶ Λευτυχίδην Πελοποννησίοισι: on the use of ἀμφί, 31.1n.

Ξανθίππωι: the father of Pericles. He has not been named since 8.131; it is remarkable that H. gave him no role in the Mycale campaign, despite the fact that the Athenian contingent had played the most distinguished part in the battle, and that his chief role in the siege of Sestos is to be implicated in the punishment of Artaÿctes and his son (cf. 120.4n.). H. writes here and elsewhere (cf. 8.131.3 and 9.120.4) as if Xanthippus were in sole, or at least supreme, command of the Athenian fleet; yet 117 (see note on τῶν στρατηγῶν) reveals that he was not the only Athenian general with the fleet. There are several explanations (not mutually exclusive) why H. focused on Xanthippus: it may be a function of H.'s narrative economy to mention only one general by name (just as only Leotychidas figured at Mycale and Pausanias took centre stage at Plataea); oral tradition may have singled out Xanthippus (cf. 117n.), not least of all because he was the father of Pericles; and H. may be self-consciously depicting the siege of Sestos as Xanthippus' story, just as Plataea was Pausanias' and Mycale Leotychidas'. Xanthippus did not have greater power, however, since the balance of evidence indicates that all of the generals in command of an expedition had equal constitutional authority and that command decisions were made by majority vote (see Hamel 1998: 84–99 for a recent treatment).

αὐτοῦ 'in that place'; since the Athenians move from Abydos to Sestos, the adverb is meant in a general sense, i.e., the Hellespont area.

ὑπομείναντας: although referring to the Athenians, the participle is now acc. because it is the subject of πειρᾶσθαι.

πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου: a tempting objective because the Athenians had long had an interest there, to control the shipping lanes for grain from the Black Sea (Sestos was later called 'the meal-table of the Piraeus', Arist. *Rhet.* 1411a14). With the approval of the Peisistratids, the Philaids, an aristocratic Athenian family, had ruled the Chersonese as tyrants from the middle of the 6th century. Miltiades, son of Cimon and general at Marathon, was the last of these tyrants, and was forced out by the Phoenician fleet in *c.* 492 (see 6.34–41 with *CAH* III^2.3.404–5).

ἐπολιόρκεον 'began to besiege'; for the inchoative imperfect, 33.4n.

115 τῶν ταύτηι 'of those in that area'.

συνῆλθον: sc. οἱ περιοικοῦντες ('those living in the area'), supplied from ἐκ τῶν ἀλλέων περιοικίδων just following.

ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος: Cardia is located on the western side of the Thracian Chersonese, at the head of the Gulf of Melas.

Οἰόβαζος: an Oeobazus whose sons were killed by Darius is mentioned at 4.84, and at 7.68 a certain Siromitres, commander of the Parikanians in Xerxes' army, is identified as 'son of Oeobazus'; the relationship, if any, among these men is not known.

τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὅπλα 'the cables from the bridges'; for ὅπλα in this sense, Powell s.v. 1.

ἦν κεκομικώς: a periphrastic pluperfect (Smyth §599a).

116–120 Artaÿctes and Protesilaus

This narrative, the last major one of the *Histories*, encompasses many of the most important themes in H.'s work. By focusing on the hero Protesilaus, H. is able to reintroduce, here at the end, the world of the Trojan War, which occupies a place of importance for two reasons. First, it is the mythical event that is the most famous embodiment of the conflict between West and East, and it is from this great conflict that the Persians conceive of the Greeks as their enemy (116.1, 3nn.). Protesilaus was the first Greek killed during the Trojan War, and he is described in the *Iliad* as the one 'whom a Dardanian man killed as he leapt from his ship by far the first of the Achaeans' (2.700–2). Alighting upon the shore of Asia, Protesilaus thus brings to mind the whole series of conflicts and transgressions, of attacks and counter-attacks, which embody the workings of retribution (120.2n.; Intr. §6a) and which lead ultimately to the very war that H. has chronicled. Second, Homer's account of the Trojan War represents the great literary model to which H. aspired (Intr. §2), and his work sought to challenge and supersede that of his poetic predecessor. In place of Greeks and Trojans, we have here at the end Greeks and Persians, or, more specifically, Athenians and Persians, and this will be the Greek/barbarian paradigm that carries into the future (see below). The crucified Artaÿctes, the Persian killed on European shores, reverses the initial action of Protesilaus, the European killed on Asian shores. Even the place of the action is significant: see 120.4n. Artaÿctes' transgression mirrors that of Xerxes, and the reader is left to infer that divine retribution for their acts of impiety fell on both (Boedeker 1988: 47–8).

So the wheel has come full circle: the *Histories* began with Croesus, the first man to harm Greeks (1.5), and by a long chain of association and

historical causation, Artaÿctes and his son figure as the last deaths of the expedition that had been the culmination of the consequences of Croesus' actions. But the wheel keeps moving, as Croesus himself notes (1.207), and endings look forward and backward (Fowler 2000: 242–6; Dewald 1997: 64–5). For H.'s contemporary audience, the portrait of the Athenian siege of Sestos and the brutal punishments inflicted on Artaÿctes and his son contrast strongly with the Peloponnesian decision to return to Greece and Pausanias' mild treatment of the sons of Theban medisers (88n.). Their occupation of the liminal space of the Hellespont is not itself without irony and foreboding: 'The Athenian story is beginning as the Persian story ends; the Thucydidean notion of the enslaving tyrant-city, with its insinuation that Athens is Persia's successor, is already here' (Pelling 1997a). On the one hand, the Athenians are taking vengeance for the Persian attack on Greece; on the other, they are participants in a grand wheel of history, and they will now take up the role of rulers (Moles 1996: 277–8; cf. below, 122.3n.). Thus the brilliance of H. as a writer and thinker is manifest here, as the conclusion of the *Histories* both brings together those themes which have permeated the entire work and, at the same time, alludes to the new themes of the post-war world.

116.1 ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξεω ὕπαρχος: artfully composed, since he was *de iure* governor, someone legally appointed by the King (for ὕπαρχος as 'satrap' cf. 113.2n.) but *de facto* 'tyrant', a person who rules by force. H. earlier called him overseer (ἐπετρόπευε, 7.78), and the change here to ἐτυράννευε is more forceful in a narrative emphasising his hybris.

Ἀρταΰκτης: on the earlier narrative mention of him cf. 120.4n. Although he is given the command of the Macrones and Mossynoeci in the enumeration of Xerxes' forces at 7.78, the present passage strongly implies that he remained at Sestos during the invasion.

ἀτάσθαλος: used only once elsewhere of a person, Xerxes (cf. 78.2n), only here by the narrator in his own voice. Like Xerxes, Artaÿctes is punished for his impiety (Boedeker 1988: 47–8).

βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ' Ἀθήνας: the Persian invasion here is said to be 'against Athens', yet H. says that Darius, at least, used an attack on Athens only as a pretext (πρόφασις, 6.94.1) for conquering all of Greece, and in the debate under Xerxes (7.9–11) it is clear that though Athens figures prominently, the actual aim of the King is to conquer all of Greece. H. may be thinking here primarily of Athens because it occupies a strong link in

the causal chain of retributive attacks (Intr. §6a), of which the events here are a fulfilment.

116.2 ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιοῦντι . . . ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος. Elaeus is not in the Troad, but on the European side of the Hellespont on the southern tip of the Chersonese. Protesilaus' sanctuary (also mentioned by Thuc. 8.102.3) replaced, in effect, the home that he left unfinished in Thessaly (cf. *Il.* 2.700–1, 'his wife, tearing her cheeks, was left behind, and his house half built'). In that sense, Artayctes was right in calling it the οἶκος of a Greek man.

ἐσύλησε βασιλέος δόντος: there is no sense of involvement in this particular sacrilege on Xerxes' part, and the fact that Artayctes conceals his real intent suggests that the King might not have approved. The fact that Xerxes does not knowingly attack the shrine agrees well with what we know of the Persians' actual way of dealing with religions other than their own: they were generally tolerant of the religious customs of their subject peoples, as long as they did not rebel (*CAH* IV².103–5; Georges 1994: 56–8; cf. ML 12 (= Fornara 35, Brosius 198), a letter in which Darius threatens his official Gadatas with punishment for taxing the sacred gardeners of Apollo). What the Greeks did not realise is that the Persians considered the temples of their enemies and of *rebellious* subjects to be the abodes of false demons called *daivas*; as such they needed to be cleansed by fire (see Georges 1994: 56–8). Thus Artayctes here emphasises to Xerxes that this unnamed man (Protesilaus) 'attacked' the King's land. Briant's suggestion (1996: 565) that Xerxes knew about the devastation of the *temenos* and that his purpose was to exalt the memory of Priam is not only unlikely in itself, but also inconsistent with H.'s narrative which portrays Xerxes as ignorant of Artayctes' designs.

διεβάλετο 'deceived'.

116.3 ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατευσάμενος: a grand and impressive ring-composition with the very beginning of the *Histories*. H. says at 1.5.1 that the Persians consider the taking of Troy to be the beginning of their enmity with the Greeks: διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν εὑρίσκουσι σφίσι ἐοῦσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

οὐδὲν ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐφρόνεε 'who suspected nothing of what that one was planning': so too Xerxes had not suspected what Artaynte would ask of him (109.2).

τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἑωυτῶν εἶναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος: ring-composition with 1.4.4, τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ

ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα βάρβαρα οἰκηιεῦνται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἥγηνται κεχωρίσθαι. The use of the present tense in both passages is striking, and, as events turned out, H. was right to employ it. Artaxerxes I conceded the autonomy of the Greek cities of Asia Minor in the (disputed) Peace of Callias (most probably in 449); yet Darius II reasserted his claim to those cities in a treaty with Sparta in 412 (Thuc. 8.58.2), and Artaxerxes II gained formal recognition of this claim in the King's Peace of 386 (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31). H. surely knew of the Peace of Callias (though neither he nor Thuc. mentions it), and although it is fairly certain that he did not live to see the Spartan-Persian treaty of 412 (Intr. §1), he nonetheless correctly judged the strength of Persian feeling that Asia was properly theirs.

τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος: i.e. whoever is King of Persia at any given time; cf. αἰεί at 102.4 and the use of ἡ ἀεί βουλή in inscriptions for 'the Council that is in session at the time': cf. *AGPS* §§50.8.5, 50.10.5.

τὸ τέμενος ἔσπειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο: among the Greeks the cultivation of sacred land was impiety and a serious offence (see Parker 1983: 160–8): cf. the Athenian decree against the Megarians (Thuc. 1.139.1–2 with Hornblower, *CT* ad loc.). H. earlier reported the belief of the Athenians and Argives that Cleomenes of Sparta went mad as a punishment for the destruction of sacred groves (6.75.3).

ἔσπειρε . . . ἐνέμετο . . . ἐμίσγετο: the imperfects point up that Artayctes did these things repeatedly.

ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο . . . ἐμίσγετο: for past general condition with ὅκως, see 1 n.

ἐν τῶι ἀδύτωι γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγετο: the ἄδυτον is the inner and most holy room of a Greek temple. H., who previously mentioned this action (7.33), must have considered it especially wicked: cf. 2.64.1, where he notes with disapproval that 'nearly all other peoples, except for the Egyptians and Greeks, have sex in sacred places . . . and so consider humans to be just like the other animals'. For the Greek belief that divine retribution struck those who copulated in temples, see Parker 1983: 74–5. Euripides in his lost *Protesilaus* (*TGF* 563) reported that the hero after his death was permitted to return to spend one day with his wife Laodamia. Burkert (1983: 243–7) speculates that a sacred marriage, real or imagined, was part of the cult activity that took place in Protesilaus' shrine; if that is so, Artayctes' actions would have been particularly offensive to the people of Elaeus.

ἀφυλάκτωι δέ κως αὐτῶι ἐπέπεσον 'and they fell upon him unawares, as it happened (κως)'; ἀφύλακτος (lit. 'unprotected') occurs only here and

at 8.70.2. The alternate reading ἀφύκτως ('inescapably') makes less sense than ἀφυλάκτωι, which picks up οὔτε προσδεκόμενος τοὺς Ἕλληνας from the previous sentence: Artaÿctes never supposed that he would have to pay for his crimes.

117 ἐπεγίνετο 'was coming on' (Powell s.v. 4).

ἤσχαλλον 'were growing impatient'; the verb only here and 3.152. It has been suggested that this description of the siege of Sestos, with hardships on both sides and the Athenians wishing to sail home because they cannot capture the wall of the city, recalls the siege of Troy (Boedeker 1988: 34).

τῆς ἑωυτῶν: sc. γῆς.

ἐδέοντο . . . ὅκως ἀπάγοιεν: on the construction see *MT* §355; the imperfect suggests repeated urgings.

τῶν στρατηγῶν: it is typical of H.'s narrative economy that he mentions only Xanthippus by name, though possibly oral tradition did not preserve the names of the others. Only four of the ten generals for 479/8 are known: Xanthippus here and Aristides, with Myronides and Leocrates (if one can trust Plut. *Arist.* 20.1), at Plataea.

πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλωσι ἢ . . . μεταπέμψηται: ἤ here is not part of the πρίν construction (cf. 68n.); rather ἤ . . . ἤ here is 'either . . . or'; for πρίν without ἄν followed by the subj. cf. 93.4.

τὸ Ἀθηναίων κοινόν: 'the Athenian people'; for τὸ κοινόν used of the citizen body acting as those who govern, cf. 87.2n. Here the expression serves to distinguish the Athenians at home from the Athenians in the fleet; cf. Thuc. 1.89.3 with Hornblower, *CT* ad loc.

μεταπέμψηται 'recall'. The narrative makes it seem as if Xanthippus and his fellow generals had undertaken the siege of Sestos on their own initiative; if that were the case, they could also have decided to lift the siege. Either, like Nicias at Syracuse (Thuc. 7.48.3, 49.2), they were sincerely afraid of prosecution upon their return or this was merely a pretext aimed at their troops. Xanthippus himself had successfully prosecuted Miltiades in 489 for his failure to take Paros (6.136).

οὕτω δὴ ἔστεργον τὰ παρεόντα 'thus they [sc. the soldiers] acquiesced in the present situation'; the alternative interpretation, that the clause refers to the *generals'* fondness for (for this meaning of στέργω cf. LSJ s.v. II) their present state seems less likely with οὕτω δή: *contra* Fornara 1971a: 81 n.9, who sees in the portrait of the eager generals here an indication of the Athens so familiar to contemporaries.

118.1 τοὺς τόνους ἕψοντες τῶν κλινέων 'boiling the leather straps of their beds'. These must have been attached to the frame in order to support the bedding.

τῆι ἦν ἐρημότατον τῶν πολεμίων 'where the sparsest contingent of the enemy was': note the focalisation inherent in τῶν πολεμίων.

119.1 Οἰόβαζον . . . λαβόντες ἔθυσαν: as a member of the Persian contingent and a defender of Artaÿctes, Oeobazus is paying for the crimes of all the Persians who had desecrated Greek sanctuaries.

Θρήικες Ἀψίνθιοι: H. uses the term Θρήικες to denote collectively more than fifty known tribes (H. himself names about half of them). The Apsinthian Thracians, mentioned earlier at 6.34.1, 37.1, lived just north of the Chersonese; their practice of human sacrifice here is in accord with their generally aggressive portrayal in H. (Asheri 1990, esp. 139).

τρόπωι τῶι σφετέρωι: H. does not describe the method of sacrifice of these particular Thracians, nor has he mentioned Pleistorus before. He noted (5.7) that the Thracians honour only Ares, Dionysus and Artemis (their kings honour Hermes also), and perhaps this Pleistorus is the Thracian name for Ares.

119.2 οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταΰκτην: cf. 69.1n.

ὀλίγον ἐόντες ὑπὲρ Αἰγὸς Ποταμῶν 'being a little way beyond Aegospotami'. H. did not live long enough to appreciate the irony (cf. Dewald 1997: 82) that Aegospotami was also the location of the final defeat of the Athenian navy by the Spartan admiral Lysander in 405 BC (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.18–28), the battle which effectively ended the Peloponnesian War and gave the deathblow to the fifth-century Athenian empire.

ἀλεξόμενοι χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν: the last glimpse of Persians fighting Greeks still shows them putting up a stiff resistance, and battling 'a long time': cf. 62.2n.

120.1 λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτέων: the source-citation serves two purposes here: it gives a local 'authority' for the miraculous story to be related, and it protects the narrator's credibility in the realm of the supernatural (the τέρας that he is about to describe): see Intr. §4.

ταρίχους 'preserved fish', usually by salting; the noun is neuter everywhere but in H.

ἐπάλλοντό τε καὶ ἤσπαιρον 'began to leap about and wriggle'. Cf. *Od.* 12.394–6, where the gods send portents in response to the eating of the Cattle of the Sun by Odysseus' men: the hides of the slain oxen crawl and the meat, raw and cooked, bellows upon the spits.

ὅκως περ 'just like'; for ὅκως meaning 'as' cf. 11.1, 66.2.

120.2 περιχυθέντες 'gathering around'.

Ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε: on the problem of Persians speaking Greek, cf. 16.4n.; for ξεῖνε + ethnic, 79.1 n. The following speech exemplifies both Artaÿctes' cleverness and his impiety (δεινὸς... καὶ ἀτάσθαλος) in trying to buy pardon for his wrongdoings.

οὐ ... σοὶ πέφηνε 'it has not been revealed for your benefit' (ethical dative).

ὁ ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι Πρωτεσίλεως: so specified because the τέρας is being given at Sestos.

καὶ τεθνεὼς καὶ τάριχος ἐών 'though he is dead and (as it were) a preserved fish': Artaÿctes is speaking here metaphorically, in the manner of signs from the gods, and there is no reason to suppose that there was an actual mummified corpse of Protesilaus at his shrine.

δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει: as a hero, not a god, Protesilaus cannot work a marvel of this sort without help from the gods; in this regard heroes resemble saints in the Christian tradition (Burkert 1985: 207).

τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι: τίνεσθαι here means 'to pay back', and so 'to punish'. It can hardly be coincidence that H. here invokes the concept of retribution which is one of the most important and recurring motifs in the *Histories*: Intr. §6a.

120.3 τῶι θεῶι: Artaÿctes, moved by the portent and the power that the dead hero has, here speaks of Protesilaus as if he were divine. He was, however, worshipped as a hero (Rohde 1909: §1.187 with n.2; §2.350–1 n.3), not as a god (*pace* Paus. 1.34.2 and Burkert 1983: 244): cf. previous note but one.

τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι: a huge bribe: the first tribute assessment of the Delian League was 460 talents, and the Parthenon cost about 470 talents to build.

περιγενόμενος 'if I am allowed to live'.

120.4 οἱ γὰρ Ἐλαιούσιοι ... ἐδέοντό μιν καταχρησθῆναι 'for the people of Elaeus were asking that he be killed'. Although the Elaeousians desired the death of Artaÿctes, H. is not exonerating Xanthippus, who in any case agreed with them (ταύτηι ⟨ὁ⟩ νόος ἔφερε). As a commander of the Athenian fleet, he surely had it in his power to spare him, had he so wished. Cf. the same responsibility attributed to him at 7.33.

ταύτηι ... ἔφερε 'was leading in this direction'.

ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔζευξε τὸν πόρον: there is real significance in the choice of this site, the point where Europe and Asia face each other.

It reminds the audience of the whole series of conflicts, going back to mythical times, of which the events just narrated serve as a climax (Intr. §6a). H. had already called attention to this action in a rather full narrative prolepsis at 7.33, precisely when Xerxes is bridging the Hellespont: 'there is in the Chersonese at the Hellespont, between the city of Sestos and Madytus, a rocky headland stretching out into the sea opposite Abydos, and it was there after these things, not much later, under Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, the general of the Athenians, that they [sc. the Athenians] took the Persian Artaÿctes who was the governor of Sestos and fastened him alive to a plank of wood. He had committed unlawful deeds (ἀθέμιστα ἔργα ἔρδεσκε) by having intercourse with women in the shrine of Protesilaus in Elaeus.'

οἱ δὲ λέγουσι . . . ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου πόλιος: on variant versions in H. see Intr. §4. Madytus, lying between Elaeus and Sestos (Steph. Byz. s.v.), also occupies a position overlooking the divide between Europe and Asia.

σανίδι προσπασσαλεύσαντες ἀνεκρέμασαν 'fastening (him) to a plank, they hung him up'; προσπασσαλεύω is found only here and 1.144.3, but cf. 7.33, πρὸς σανίδα διεπασσάλευσαν. Binding a traitor or criminal to a plank of wood by means of iron collars around wrists, ankles, and neck (called *apotumpanismos*) was a standard form of capital punishment at Athens for criminals; the victim probably died from exposure: see Gernet 1981: 252–76. Yet this vengeful punishment is the sort of action for which Pausanias rebuked Lampon (79.1 n.), and is one that the reader has come to expect of barbarians not of Greeks. The action may have been repeated by the Athenians close to H.'s own time: Duris of Samos says that Pericles had the rebellious Samian trierarchs and marines crucified in 439 (*FGrHist* 76 F 67 = Plut. *Per.* 28.2, with Stadter 1989: 258–9 and Allen 2000: 198–200). However that may be, the action here has the effect of destabilising the Greek/barbarian dichotomy, with the 'Greekest of states . . . now falling into the barbarian pattern' (Pelling 1997a). Similar sorts of inversion can be seen in the treatment of noble Trojans and ignoble Greeks in *Andromache* (performed 426), *Hecuba* (*c*. 424) and *Trojan Women* (415), where Eur. subverts the Greek/barbarian polarity so central to an Athenian citizen's sense of identity: see Saïd 1989 and Croally 1994: 103–19.

τὸν δὲ παῖδα . . . κατέλευσαν: as they had earlier with Lycides (5.3); the action contrasts strongly with Pausanias' treatment of Attaginus' sons (88), thus strengthening the impression that whereas Pausanias was acting like a good Greek, Xanthippus is here acting like a barbarian. Cf. Eur. *Tro.* 764–5, spoken by Andromache when she learns that the Greeks have

decided to murder her son: 'O Greeks, who have devised barbarian evils, why do you kill this boy who has committed no fault?'

ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι τοῦ Ἀρταΰκτεω 'before Artaÿctes' eyes'.

121 τὰ ὅπλα τῶν γεφυρέων ὡς ἀναθήσοντες ἐς τὰ ἱρά: for τὰ ὅπλα as 'cables' cf. 115n. It was long ago suggested (Amandry 1953: 104; 1978, accepted by *CAH* IV².620–1, Pritchett, *GSAW* III.282, and many others) that the Athenian Stoa at Delphi was built in the 470s for the specific purpose of displaying them; an inscription on the stylobate of the Stoa reads: 'The Athenians dedicated the Stoa, having seized both the *hopla* and the *akroteria* (ship ornaments) from their enemies' (καὶ τὰ *h*όπλ[α κ]αὶ τἀκροτέρια *h*ελόντες τõν πολε[μίο]ν, ML 25 = Fornara 43). It is more likely, however, that τὰ ὅπλα in this inscription means 'weapons' rather than 'cables'; and surely the Athenians would have specified that these spoils had been seized from 'the Medes' (for these and other cogent objections to Amandry's thesis, see Walsh 1986).

καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος . . . ἐγένετο: on the phrase, cf. 107.3n. The implication of these words is that other things took place during the next and subsequent years, things which H. will not narrate. Some earlier scholars believed that this sentence showed that H. intended to continue his work, others considered it an interpolation: earlier views are well summarised by Dewald 1997: 67 n. 3. Thuc. begins his digression on the development of Athenian power between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars (the so-called Pentecontaetia period: 1.89–117) with the siege of Sestos, which suggests that he accepted H.'s ending. H., like Thuc. (1.23.1), considered the Persian Wars, strictly speaking, to have ended with Mycale. But that was not a suitable artistic and thematic ending for the work, since H. wanted to end with an episode that had resonance for what came next. The siege of Sestos, by the Athenians alone after the departure of Leotychidas, foreshadows the Athenian assumption of leadership and the establishment of the Delian League in 478/7 (cf. 116–120n.). Yet by choosing to narrate Sestos, H. involves himself in a slight awkwardness, since the story of the operations of the Hellenic League continued in spring 478 under the command of Pausanias, who subdued Cyprus and captured Byzantium (Thuc. 1.94). A possible ending, therefore, would have been the disgrace of Pausanias and the transfer of the hegemony to Athens. But by stopping where he did, H. leaves much more to the reader's interpretation, for his incomplete portrait of Pausanias compels the reader to think about the great general's fall from grace in 478 (without H.'s having to deal with the controversial question

himself) and to draw a mental contrast between Pausanias' behaviour in 479 and 478 – a clear case of H.'s injunction to 'look to the end'. Likewise, Athenian actions at Sestos make the reader ponder the establishment of the Athenian empire while allowing H. himself to avoid examining the reasons for its establishment.

122 A proposal made by the Persians to Cyrus, and his advice to them

This last brief story proceeds from a genealogical connection with a main character from the previous narrative, and H. moves back in time to the point at which the Persians under Cyrus rule their vast empire. The historical context is only vaguely given (Krischer 1974; *contra*, Burn 61, who tries to connect it with Cyrus' move to Pasargadae), and the generalisations employed by Cyrus (who appears here as a 'wise advisor': Intr. §2) suggest that H. means us to see his words not only in their particular context but also as having wider relevance for human societies and the processes of history.

What the Persians discuss is a migration to another land, something proposed for the Ionians after Mycale (106.2–4n.). Although this might simply be coincidence, one nevertheless suspects that some comparison is being drawn between the two. Cyrus here makes a close correlation between the land and the character of the people (an important topic in the mid-5th c.: Thomas 2000: 102–34). By deciding to stay in their 'harsh' land, the Persians choose to maintain their character as rulers, just as perhaps the decision to keep the Ionians where they were might ensure that they continue in their current character as subjects (even if under a different ruler: see 106.2–4n. ad fin.).

Yet because this and other 'warnings' of the last chapter are not elucidated or discussed directly by the narrator himself, different interpretations are possible, particularly about the extent to which the Persians here are to be assimilated to the Greeks of 479. There is no reason to doubt that H. is here portraying the Persians as a hardy people and that the contrast, therefore, with the luxury Pausanias had witnessed (cf. 82.3) and the dissipation of Xerxes in his final story (cf. 108–113n.) cannot be accidental. There is something of a disparity between the Persians' choices in this story, and those they make elsewhere. In 1.126.5 H. portrays Cyrus as inciting the Persians to win their freedom so that they may have countless pleasures without the need for servile labour. This is not so much a contradiction with

the present passage as a recognition that empire brings certain benefits. H. himself claims that before the conquest of Lydia the Persians lived a simple life and had no luxuries of any kind (1.71, 89). Croesus can later refer to the 'good things' that the Persians enjoy (1.207.6), for this is in contrast with the Massagetae, and by then the Persians have conquered Lydia and have reaped the benefits of empire. It is probably wrong, however, to look for a consistent pattern of development in H.'s comments about the Persians' lifestyle; rather, each of these passages has its own internal logic and is not part of some overarching scheme. It must be stressed that H. is not here giving a historical explanation of why the Persians failed to conquer Greece: they did in fact follow Cyrus' advice and did not move *en masse* into the plains (even if elite Persians owned large estates in various lands, H. is here discussing a hypothetical migration of the entire Persian people rather than the residences abroad of satraps and generals). And although the Persians attained a high degree of luxury as compared to the simpler and poorer Greeks (7.102.1, 8.26.3, above, 82n.), it is too simplistic to say (as do Bischoff 1932; Cobet 1971: 172–6; and Raaflaub 1987: 244–6) that H. attributes their defeat to softness caused by luxury. Book 9 makes it clear that the Persian warriors fought bravely and to the end (see Intr. §3).

It is more problematic whether this ending encodes a message for H.'s contemporary and future audiences. Moles 1996 argues that it is meant as a warning specifically to the Athenians about the dangers inherent in imperialism; Pelling 1997a suggests that the contemporary perspective is a shifting one; and Dewald 1997 believes that the ending sustains various interpretations simultaneously and is open-ended. At the time when H. wrote this, the Persian empire was still intact and powerful (despite the loss of Ionia), and the Peloponnesian War was undecided. Persian wealth and luxury might or might not lead to the eventual destruction of their empire and the wealth and power of Athens might or might not prove her undoing. The full significance of Cyrus' advice, both for Athens and Persia, was yet to be realised.

122.1 τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταΰκτεω . . . προπάτωρ: for narrative analepsis see Intr. §2.

Ἀρτεμβάρης: nothing more is known of this man. He might be related to the Artembares mentioned at 1.114.3–4, even though that man is a Mede and Artaÿctes is clearly identified as a Persian (116.1): intermarriage, however, was known between the two peoples, and Cyrus himself was the product of such a 'mixed' marriage (1.107). The irony of the situation would, of course, be greatly increased if he were a Mede.

λόγον . . . λέγοντα τάδε: H. personifies the λόγος as if it actually speaks.

122.2 Ζεύς: like all the Persians in H.'s work, this one speaks in terms that a Greek would understand. 'Zeus' here is the Persian high god, Ahura-Mazda, who was the special patron of the Persian King (Briant 1996: 259–60). The connection between Zeus and kingship is familiar in the Greek tradition from Homer on: cf. 'Zeus-nurtured' (διοτρεφής, *Il.* 1.176 et al.). On H.'s identification of Greek with foreign gods see Burkert 1990.

κατελὼν Ἀστυάγην: in 549 BC. The defeat of the Median king Astyages marks the beginning of the Persian empire: cf. Xerxes' words at 7.8α.1, παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε παρὰ Μήδων, Κύρου κατελόντος Ἀστυάγεα.

γάρ: anticipatory: cf. 31.2n.

ὀλίγην καὶ ταύτην τρηχέαν 'little and even this is rough'. At 1.71.2 the Lydian Sandanis describes the Persians as χώρην ἔχοντες τρηχέαν.

ἀστυγείτονες . . . ἑκαστέρω 'close by . . . somewhat farther off': 'lands' must be understood from the previous γῆν.

πλέοσι ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι 'we will be more admirable to a greater number (of peoples)'. In contrast to the noun θῶμα and the verb θωμάζω, the adj. θωμαστός occurs but five times in H., two of them in this passage (cf. θωμαστόν in the next section).

παρέξει 'will it be possible' (Powell s.v. 6).

κάλλιον: the comparative adjective is here used adverbially.

ὅτε . . . ἄρχομεν: the present tense indicates that at the dramatic date of this story the Persians are envisioned as already having conquered Lydia and as currently ruling the whole of Asia (*contra* Erbse 1992: 43; Thomas 2000: 107, n. 5). H. says at 1.130.3 that after Cyrus had subdued Croesus πάσης τῆς Ἀσίης ἦρξε.

122.3 οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον: the verb can mean 'be surprised at' or 'admire': either sense here would be suitable, but in view of θωμαστότεροι in the previous section, the latter meaning fits nicely.

οὕτω δέ 'but in *that* case'.

παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς 'to prepare themselves to'; the verb can be followed either by an infinitive or a ὡς clause; for another example of the latter, cf. 97.

φιλέειν: used impersonally of things that happen as a rule; so here 'it is usually the case that'; for other examples of the expression in H. see 8.128.2, οἷα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμωι, and Powell s.v. 2.

ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς ἄνδρας γίνεσθαι: this type of geographical determinism has its roots in analogical reasoning (Corcella 1984, esp. 174–8) and is common in H. and in the Greek thought of his time, as the roughly contemporary *Airs, Waters, Places* (1, 16, 23–4) demonstrates.

οὐ γάρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς 'for it is not at all in the nature of the same land': τι here is adverbial; the genitive is predicative (Smyth §1303–4).

ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια 'men who are good at war'; the same expression at 7.238.2, where it is said that these are the type of men most honoured by the Persians.

122.4 συγγνόντες 'confessing their error', as at 7.13.3 (Xerxes to his court).

ἑσσωθέντες τῆι γνώμηι: the same phrase at 3.83.1 (of Otanes in the Constitutional Debate) and 7.237.1 (Demaratus' advice not taken by Xerxes).

πρὸς Κύρου: ὑπό is more common with the verb to express agency: cf. 7.237.1, 8.27.2, 8.75.1.

λυπρήν: sc. γῆν; a hapax in H.; so too in Hom. where it is used (in negation) to describe Ithaca, *Od.* 13.243: οὐδὲ λίην λυπρή, ἀτὰρ οὐδ' εὐρεῖα τέτυκται.

ἄρχειν ... ἢ ... ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν: it is a commonplace to observe that the ending of H.'s history highlights the choice between freedom and slavery, but this is not quite right, since the actual contrast H. paints here is that between ruling and being ruled (literally, 'being enslaved'). The contrast may be significant for H.'s own thought and times, since, to judge from Thuc.'s history, the choice open to the Athenians of the late fifth century seems to have been to maintain their empire or themselves be ruled by others: cf. Pericles at Thuc. 2.63.1–2. In the larger scheme of things, H. too seems to envision a world which has but two alternatives, rule or be ruled. So it has been throughout his history, beginning with Croesus' attack on the Ionians, and ending with Xerxes' failed attempt to rule over Greece: the recurrent cycle of retribution (Intr. §6a) demands this, since every injury calls forward a response, and no end is ever proposed or envisioned. It was probably, therefore, no surprise to H. that the Athenians, having escaped 'being slaves to others', within a very short time turned their attention to establishing their own empire.

APPENDIX A: SIMONIDES' POEM ON PLATAEA

Texts: Parsons 1992; West, *IEG*² FF 11–17; Sider, in Boedeker and Sider 2001: 13–29. The text reproduced below is that of Sider (see p. xii) with minor corrections of typographical errors. The translations are our own.
Discussions: (select): Aloni 1997; Boedeker 2001a (orig. 1996), 2001b (orig. 1998); Schachter 1998; Shaw 2001.

F 11 *Death of Achilles, sack of Troy, invocation of the Muse, marching out of the Spartan army?* (*POxy* 2327 fr. 5 + 6 + 27 col. i + 3965 fr. 1 + 2)

π̣α̣ί̣[..]σ̣.[	stru[ck]...
ἢ πίτυν ἐν βήσ[σαις	or a pine tree in the gla[des]...
ὑλοτόμοι τάμ[νωσι	woodcutters should fe[ll]...
πολλὸν δ' †ἦρῶσ[	and much...
]ο̣ς λαὸν̣ [	...the army...
Πατρ[όκλου σα̣[	...Patr[oclus']
σ' ἐδ]α̣μασσεν ἐφ̣[	...[sub]dued...
ἀλλ' ὑπ' Ἀπόλλ]ωνος χειρὶ[	...[by Apoll]o's hand...
]σ̣εουσαπ.[........(.)]στ[	......
– ⏔ – Πρ]ι̣άμου παισὶ χ[....]ομ̣[	...with the children of [Pr]iam
– ⏑ Ἀλεξά]ν̣δ̣ρ̣ο̣ιο κακόφρ[ονο]ς, ὡσ... [	...of evil-minded [Alexa]nder...
– ⏔ –]. θείης ἅρμα καθεῖλε δί̣κ̣[ης.	...the chariot of divine justice destroyed.
– ⏔ –]ν πέρσαντες ἀοίδιμον [– ⏑ ἵ]κοντο	having sacked... famous in song, came...
– ⏔ –]ωων̣ ἀγέμαχοι Δαναοὶ[	[best of her]oes, the valiant Danaans,[
οἷσιν ἐπ' ἀθά]ν̣ατον κέχυται κλέος ἀν̣[δρὸς] ἕκητι	[on whom im]mortal glory has been poured, by the aid of a man
ὃς παρ' ἰοπ]λοκάμων δέξατο Πιερίδ[ων	[who] received [from the violet]-tressed Muses of Pieria
– ⏔ –]θείην καὶ ἐπώνυμον ὀπ̣[λοτέρ]οισιν	[the entire tru]th and [made] famous to later men
– ⏔ ἡμ]ι̣θέων ὠκύμορον γενεὴ̣[ν.	the quickly-dying race of [dem]igods.
ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲ]ν νῦν χαῖρε, θεᾶς ἐρικυ[δέος υἱέ	...now farewell, [son of] the very famous divine

κούρης εἰν]αλίου Νηρέος· αὐτὰρ ἐγώ [	[daughter] of Nereus of the sea. But I
κικλήισκω] σ' ἐπίκουρον ἐμοί, π[⏕ –⏑]ε Μοῦσα,	[invoke] you as my helper, i[llustriou]s Muse,
εἴ περ γ' ἀν]θρώπων εὐχομένω[ν μέλεαι·	[if you have a care?] for men who pray,
ἔντυνο]ν καὶ τόνδ[ε μελ]ίφρονα κ[όσμον ἀο]ιδῆς	[prepare] also this pleasing a[rray] of our song,
ἡμετ]έρης, ἵνα τις [μνή]σεται ὑ[⏑⏑ –	in order that someone shall remember...
ἀνδρῶ]ν, οἳ Σπάρτ[ηι ⏕ – ⏕ δούλιον ἦμ]αρ	me]n who for Sparta... da[y of slavery]
] ἀμυν[ ]..[ ]ω[	... defend[ing] ...
οὐδ' ἀρε]τῆς ἐλάθ[οντο ⏑ – ⏕]ν οὐρανομ[ήκ]ης	[nor] were they forgetful of [val]our... reaching to heaven,
καὶ κλέος ἀ]νθρώπων [ἔσσετ]αι ἀθάνατο<ν>.	[and the fame] of men [shall] be immortal.
– ⏕ Εὐ]ρώταν κα[ὶ Σπάρτη]ς ἄστυ λιπόντ[ες	[They], leaving behind the [Eur]otas and the city of [Sparta],
– ⏕ –]Ζηνὸς παισὶ σὺν ἱπποδάμοις	[set out] with the horse-taming sons of Zeus
Τυνδαρίδα]ις ἥρωσι καὶ εὐρυβίηι Μενελάω[ι	[the Tyndarid] heroes and mighty Menelaus,
– ⏕ πατ]ρώιης ἡγεμόνες π[ό]λεος,	... leaders of their ancestral city,
τοὺς δ' υἱὸς θείοιο Κλεο]μβ[ρ]ότου ἔξ[α]γ' ἄριστ[ος	[those whom the son of excellent Cleo]mbrotus led out, the best man,
]αγ. Παυσανίας.	..Pausanias.
– ⏕ – ⏕ – ⏑]. καὶ ἐπικλέα ἔργα Κορίν[θ]ου	and the famous deeds of Corinth
– ⏕ – ⏕ –] Ταντα λίδεω Πέλοπος	... of Pelops the son of Tantalus
– ⏕ – ⏕ – Ν]ίσου πόλιν, ἔνθα περ ὧ[λλοι	..city of [N]isus, where indeed the o[thers]
– ⏕ – ⏕ –] φῦλα περικτιόνων	... tribes of neighbours
– ⏕ – ⏕ –] σσι πεποιθότες, οἳ δὲ συν[	... trusting in the [porte]nts [of the gods], they who with ...
– ⏕ – ⏕ – || –⏑]ρατὸν πεδίον	... [lo]vely (?) plain
– ⏕ – ⏕ – Παν]δίονος ἐξε[λάσα]ντες	... of Pan]dion having sallied forth (*or* having driven out)
– ⏕ – ⏕ – Κέκρ]οπος ἀντιθέου[	... of godlike [Cecr]ops...
].ς δαμάσαντ[	... they (*or* having) subdued ...

When this, the longest fragment, begins, the poet is speaking of the death of Achilles (5–7). He mentions Homer and the fame conferred on the heroes

of Troy (15–18). At line 19, he bids farewell to Achilles, and turns to his own theme, which begins with the departure of the Spartans from home for Plataea. The poet most likely means to equate the heroes of the Trojan War with the recent 'heroes' of the Persian wars (Parsons 1992: 32). This scenario, even in its fragmentary state, seems a far cry from H.'s account (6–11). Simon. presents a glorious departure, with the Tyndaridae and Menelaus accompanying Pausanias (25–34; most likely the army carried carved images of them: Parker 1988: 147). In H., by contrast, the Spartans march out at night after a protracted campaign of delay by the ephors, who kept putting off the ambassadors from Athens, Plataea, and Megara (8.1–2), and send out the army only when persuaded by the Tegean Chileus (9). It is also striking that at lines 30–31 both of the Tyndaridae are said to accompany Pausanias to Plataea, since according to H. (5.75) the Spartans passed a law that one of the Tyndaridae had always to remain in Sparta with one of the kings whenever the other king went on campaign; this was in reaction to the dissension between the kings Cleomenes and Demaratus during their abortive invasion of Attica in *c.* 506. For further discussion see Hornblower 2001: 140–2, who suggests that Simon. was portraying the Dioscuri not as images, but rather as being present to the Spartans through a religious epiphany.

Lines 35–41 may relate to the arrival of the Spartan army at the Isthmus (36), at Megara (37), and at Eleusis (40). Line 41 possibly refers to the Athenians joining up with the Peloponnesians at Eleusis, or (alternatively) the Spartans driving the Persians from the land of Pandion, i.e. Attica. Line 42 in particular has been the subject of much speculation. West reads μαν]ṭịος, and sees this as a reference to Teisamenus, relating it to the sacrifices mentioned by H. at 19.2 (although Teisamenus is first mentioned by H. at 33). Parsons, however, and most other editors read Κέκρ]ọπ̣ος and refer this to the Spartan rescue of Athens (the land of Cecrops). It must be stressed, however, that since these lines have been heavily restored on the basis of H., the danger of circularity is extremely great.

F 13 *Spartans take up position on the Asopus?* (*POxy* 2327 fr. 27 col. ii)

ὄφρ' ἀπὸ μὲν Μήδ[ων	so that from the Med[es]
καὶ Περσῶν, Δώρου δ[ὲ	and Persians, and to/for Doros'
παισὶ καὶ Ἡρακλέọς [	and Heracles' children...
οἳ] δ' ἐπεὶ ἐς πεδίον [	who, when they [went?] into the plain...
εἰ]σ̣ωποὶ δ' ἔφ[α]νεṿ[	and [the Medes?] appeared in sight of...

F 14 *Prophecy of Teisamenus or of a divine speaker?* (*POxy* 3965 fr. 21)

]α̣δον βάλλομε̣[ν	. . throw . . .
λ]έγω ποτ̣αμοῦ λ̣α̣[	. . . I say of the river
]ρ̣ψαι πρῶτα β[ι]η[	. . . first of all . . .
δεινὸν ἀμαι]μάκετο̣ν τε κ̣α̣κ[όν	. . . [irre]sistible evil . . .
μνή]μην ἤματα πάντ[α	. . for all time .
ἐξ Ἀ]σ̣ί̣[η]ς ἐλάσ̣ει νεύσ̣αντο[ς	. . shall drive [out of A]si[a], having nodded in approval
]νην συμμα̣[χ]ίην φιλέω[ν	. . favouring a n[ew] (or [commo]n) alliance

For the thesis that this fragment is part of the prophecy mentioned by H. (36) see West ap *IEG*² F 14; 1993: 8–9. It is possible, however, that the prophecy in Simon. is not delivered by Teisamenus, but by a divine speaker (as suggested by Rutherford 2001: 48). At least as West restores it, the prophecy is too elaborate to be the result of divination by extispicy (the examination of entrails: see 33.1 nn., 36n.), though it is possible that Simon. had Teisamenus divine in some other, less prosaic manner. West 1993: 9 cites the example of Helenus, who somehow intuits or overhears the deliberations of the gods at *Il.* 7.44–53 (see Kirk 1990: 236–8). In H.'s account, by contrast, Teisamenus is only concerned with whether the Greeks should cross the Asopus river or not; and that is the standard type of question which a seer was competent to answer. Moreover, the fame of Teisamenus rested on his five victories, of which Plataea was the first. At the time when Simon. composed his poem Teisamenus' role may not have seemed as significant as it did a generation or so later. See further Flower 2000: 67 n. 9.

FF 15–16 *The role of the Corinthians* (Plut. *Mal. Her.* 872d+ *POxy* 3965 F 5)

μέσσοις δ' οἵ τ' Ἐφύρην πολυπίδακα ναιετάοντες,	and in the middle both those who dwell in many-fountained Ephyra,
παντοίης ἀρετῆς ἴδριες ἐν πολέμωι	men well versed in every sort of excellence in war,
οἵ τε πόλιν Γλαύκοιο Κορίνθιον ἄστυ νέμοντες	and those who inhabiting the Corinthian town, Glaukos' city,
[– ⏑⏑] κάλλιστον μάρτυν ἔθεντο πόνων	established for themselves the fairest witness of their toils,
χρυσοῦ τιμήεντος ἐν αἰθέρι· καί σφιν ἀέξει	the precious gold in the sky; and it shall magnify for them
αὐτῶν τ' εὐρεῖαν κληδόνα καὶ πατέρων	both their own far-famed glory and that of their fathers

Whereas in H. the Corinthians are part of the group that disobeys Pausanias' order and misses the battle (52, 69.1 with nn.), in Simon. they seem to be given a prominent role in the battle: see Boedeker 2001 a: 132. It is unclear, however, whether the words μέσσοις δ' οἵ τ' refer to the Corinthians being merely *stationed* in the middle of the battle line (as Luppe 1994 maintains) or actually fighting in that position. The latter interpretation, however, is supported by Plut.'s remark here, 'But as for the Corinthians and the position *in which they fought* the barbarians (τάξιν ἣν ἐμάχοντο τοῖς βαρβάροις) and the consequence which the battle of Plataea had for them, it is possible to learn this from Simonides.' In addition, the remark that they 'established for themselves the fairest witness of their toils' (4) suggests that they actually took part in the pitched battle, rather than that they were simply stationed in the battle line. In any case, the praise which Simon. has heaped upon the Corinthians cannot be reconciled with their role in H., which is nothing more than to endure harassment by the Persian cavalry.

F 17 *Final battle near the sanctuary of Demeter?* (*POxy* 3965 fr. 19)

Δημ̣ητ[	Demet[rion] (or Demet[er])...
χ̣[ρ]ῆμα δ[	thing...
φῆ δὲ δυ[	says...
ἄγρετο σε̣ [	?...
δηρὸν [	for a long time...
τοὺς α[	them
ῥύσιο̣ν [	reprisal (?)...

It has been claimed that this fragment refers to the battle near the temple of Demeter mentioned by H. at 62.2 and 65.2. See Parsons 1992: 40; West 1993: 9. Rutherford 2001: 49 and Boedeker 2001 a: 130 suggest that ῥύσιο̣ν (7) might refer to reprisals taken by Demeter for the Persian violation of her temple; if so, Simon. was more explicit than H. as to the extent of the goddess' participation (see Intr. §6c).

APPENDIX B: DEDICATION OF THE SEER TEISAMENUS?*

IG VII.1670 = *SEG* XVI. 304 (cf. XXIX. 450) = *CEG* 328 (with Addenda, *CEG* II. p. 302). Fragment of a marble base, found in the foothills of Cithaeron near the village of Kriekouki, now in the Thebes museum, inv. no. 202.

Together with *IG* VII. 1671, this inscription was found in a heap of stones beside a supposedly ancient well roughly 25 metres from the apparent remains of the sanctuary of Demeter. It is a natural inference that this dedication was made in the temple beside which Teisamenus won his first great victory and that it was discovered very near where it was dedicated (see Pritchett 1957: 27; 1979; 1985: 105–17, answering the objections of Wallace 1982) Although it is possible even for large stones to be found at a considerable distance from where they were originally set up in antiquity, the fact that two dedicatory inscriptions were discovered together increases the likelihood that they have not been moved far.

We have inspected a squeeze of the inscription taken by Peek in the 1930s. The field of writing on the squeeze measures 27 cm by 43 cm (at its widest part): the average height of the letters on lines one and two is 2.5 cm: the letters on line three are slightly smaller, with an average of 2–2.5 cm. The letter-forms are Boeotian of the early fifth century (see the chart in Jeffery 1990: 89–90), although those of line 3 (particularly A, M, N and Σ) are slightly earlier and were probably inscribed by an older and different mason. The beginnings of each of the fragmentary lines scan as hexameters, from which it is reasonable to conclude that the dedication was in verse. Editions and discussions: B. Haussoullier, *BCH* 2 (1878) 589 (illustration at plate 26.1); P. Foucart, *BCH* 3 (1879) 134–6; W. Peek, *Hermes* 72 (1937) 233; Pritchett 1979; Schachter 2000.

[Δ]άματρο[ς] τόδ' ἄγαλμα [⏑ – ⏕ – ⏑⏑ – x]
[ἔ]νθάδε γ' [ε]ἰσοράοντι σε [⏕ ⏑⏑ x]
[Τ]εισαμενὸς Ϙυδάδας καὶ [⏕ ⏑⏑ x]

* We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Professor A. Schachter for help with this inscription, and for calling our attention to *SEG* XXX. 478a as a possible parallel. We thank also Klaus Hallof of *Inscriptiones Graecae* in Berlin, who kindly lent us a squeeze of *IG* VII 1670.

2 σέ[βας Kaibel 3 [Τ]εισαμενὸς Haussoullier: [*h*]εισάμενος Dittenberger

Comments:

1. The restoration of Demeter's name is virtually certain. The designation 'this statue' suggests, naturally enough, that the base was capped by a dedicatory offering to the goddess. Dittenberger (ap. *IG* VII) suggested two traditional epithets of Demeter, 'crop bearer' and 'of the shining fruit', to complete the line, reading as follows: [Δ]άματρο[ς] τόδ' ἄγαλμ' [ὡραοφόρου ἀγλαοκάρπου]. Peek suggested φερεσβίου ('life-bearing') for the first of these epithets, which would preserve the metre.

2. This line is particularly difficult to translate, given the loss of context; Kaibel's supplement σέ[βας has been accepted by most scholars, including Dittenberger, Peek, and Pritchett; if that is correct, the phrase means either 'here, at least, reverence (is) for the one looking upon' or 'here at least is an object of wonder for one looking upon' (sc. the statue); for the use of σέβας here, cf. Hom. *Od.* 6.161; *Hym. Dem.* 10; Soph. *Elec.* 685.

3. This line is the most problematic of all. Haussoullier first proposed [T], identifying him with H.'s seer. Peek thought that he could see a trace of the cross-arm of a T in the third line, but this is not evident on the squeeze. There seem to be at least five possible translations of this line, three of which depend on whether Ϙυδάδας is a proper name, a patronymic, or a family name. If the first, it may represent a joint dedication, possibly of three people, such as 'Teisamenos, Kydadas, and [x dedicated]'; if the second, a joint dedication of two people, e.g., 'Teisamenos, the son of Kydas, and [x dedicated]'; if the third, also a joint dedication, but now with the family name, 'Teisamenos, of the family of the Kydadai, and [x dedicated]'.

Schachter 2000 makes the novel suggestion that κυδάδην should be read in H.'s text at 33.1 instead of κλυτιάδην. Kydadas in the inscription would then be not the name of a dedicant, but an otherwise unattested family name: 'Teisamenos of the family of the Kydadae'. He further argues that the Klytiadae came into prominence only at a relatively late date (perhaps the 1st c. BC), but then became so famous that a familiar name was substituted in the text of H. for an otherwise unattested one. If he is right, then we should understand the Kydadae to be a branch of the Iamidae and translate 33.1 as 'a Kydadan [i.e. a member of the family of

the Kydadae] from the clan of the Iamidae'. The thesis, although attractive, is highly speculative, and one must hesitate before emending the text of H. on the basis of an inscription which may in fact not have any connection at all with Teisamenos of Elis. Moreover, an epigram (4th or 3rd c. BC) cited by Paus (6.17 6) demonstrates that the Klytiadae had long been a famous family of seers.

As for the letters KAI at the end of the line, these most likely are the simple conjunction 'and', as in the above translations, but they could also represent a crasis of the conjunction and a proper name, such as κ'Αι[rest of a name]. Such usage occurs three times in *SEG* 30.478(a), a Boeotian inscription of slightly earlier date:

Θεοϙύδες ἐποίεσε [ὀκραιφ]ιεὺς κ' Ἀϙούσιλος
κ' Ἀντίφαρις Ἰκίδμα [ἀνέθειαν] κ' Ἐπιχάρες *ho* Θε[βαῖος]

If this is admitted, then και possibly conceals the first two letters of a third name. An attractive possibility is Aeimnestos, the killer of Mardonios (64.2). The form of his name is uncertain (cf. 64.2n.), although AB read Ἀιμνῆστος, and either form might be spelled Ἀἰμνάστος in the Boeotian dialect. We might then have [Τ]εισαμενὸς Ϙυδάδας κ' Ἀἰ[μνάστος], i.e., 'Teisamenos, Kydadas [or 'son of Kydas' or 'of the family Kydadai'], and Aimnastos [dedicated]'. It would not be inappropriate if he and Teisamenos (if this is indeed H.'s Teisamenos) made a dedication together, since one was the seer who had won the victory and the other was the Spartiate who had killed the enemy commander. Unfortunately, this can only remain a tantalising suggestion.

Moreover, the reading [T] at the opening of line 3, although attractive, is not the only possibility. Dittenberger, believing that one could not have two proper names in a row without a conjunction, read [*h*]εισάμενος, the aorist participle of ἵζω, which in the middle can mean 'to dedicate' (LSJ, s.v. I.2): cf. H. 1.66.1, where the Spartans establish a temple (ἱρὸν εἱσάμενοι) for Lycurgus after his death. In this restoration, Ϙυδάδας would be read as a nominative and the subject of the participle ('Kydadas, having dedicated . . '). This would, however, constitute the only example of the aorist participle of this verb in a dedicatory inscription.

APPENDIX C: THE 'OATH OF PLATAEA'

Diodorus claims that an oath was taken by the allied Greeks while encamped at the Isthmus of Corinth. The Athenian orator Lycurgus records an almost identical version, but says it was sworn at Plataea. A third and more archaic-sounding version, inscribed on a stone slab during the fourth century, was found at Acharnae in Attica in 1932. The fullest study of the oath is Siewert 1972, who argues that the inscribed version is genuine (but see Cawkwell 1975). Hignett 460–1 makes a strong case for all versions being fabrications.

I. Diod. 11.29.2–3 (derived from Ephorus of Cyme, late 4th c. BC):
When the Greeks had assembled at the Isthmus, it was resolved by all of them to swear an oath concerning the war, one that would both protect the concord among them and compel them nobly to endure dangers. The oath was as follows: 'I shall not consider being alive more important than freedom, nor shall I abandon the leaders, whether they are alive or dead, but I shall bury all of the allies who are killed in the battle; and if I prevail over the barbarians in the war, I shall not destroy any of the cities that joined in the struggle; and I shall not rebuild any of the sanctuaries that were burned and demolished, but I shall let them be and leave them as a memorial of the impiety of the barbarians for future generations.'

II. Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 81 (330 BC):
On account of which reason [i.e. the vengeance of the gods against oath breakers], men of the jury, all of the Greeks exchanged this pledge at Plataea, at the time when, marshalled for battle, they were about to fight against the power of Xerxes. They did not invent it themselves, but imitated the oath that is customary among you. [...] Read the oath to me: 'I shall not consider being alive more important than freedom, nor shall I abandon the leaders, whether they are alive or dead, but I shall bury all of the allies who are killed in the battle; and if I prevail over the barbarians in the war, I shall not destroy any of the cities that fought on behalf of Greece, but I shall tithe all of those that chose the side of the barbarians; and I shall absolutely not rebuild any of the sanctuaries that were burned and demolished by the

barbarians, but I shall allow them to remain as a memorial of the impiety of the barbarians for future generations.'

III. Tod 204 (= Fornara 57): a 4th-c. inscription found at Acharnae in Attica (*c*. 336–307?):

The oath which the Athenians swore when they were about to fight against the barbarians: 'I shall fight as long as I live, and I shall not value being alive more than being free, and I shall not abandon the taxiarch or the enomotarch, whether he be alive or dead, and I shall not abandon my post unless the commanders should lead me away, and I shall do whatever the generals order, and I shall bury in the same place those of my comrades who are killed, and I shall leave no one unburied; and if I prevail while fighting the barbarians, I shall tithe the city of Thebes, and I shall not destroy Athens, or Sparta, or Plataea, or any of the cities that joined in the fight, and I shall not permit them to be pressed by famine nor shall I bar either my friends or my enemies from running water. And if I abide by the things that are written in the oath, may my city be without disease, but if not, may it be diseased: and may my city remain unsacked, but if not, may it be sacked: and may my land bear fruit, but if not, may it be barren: and may women bear children that resemble their parents, but if not, may they bear monsters: and may cattle bear offspring that resemble cattle, but if not, may they bear monsters.' When they had sworn to these things and had covered the *sphagia* with their shields, at the sound of a trumpet they made a curse, that if they should transgress any of the things that they had sworn to or should not abide by the things written in the oath, there would be pollution upon themselves who had so sworn

Does any one of these versions, or an amalgamation of all three, represent an oath which the Greek allies actually swore at some point (most likely at Eleusis, not the Isthmus: see 19.2n.) before the battle of Plataea, or are our extant versions a later 'reconstruction' of an actual oath which was but imperfectly remembered? Or is the Oath of Plataea nothing more than a conscious forgery based on the oath of the Hellenic League in 481 or 480 to tithe the medising states (see 86–88n.)? If this oath is authentic, or even based on an authentic tradition, it is strange that no source earlier than the second half of the 4th c. mentions it. There are indeed good reasons for judging the entire oath to be a forgery. Theopompus of Chios (*FGrHist* 115 F 153) apparently claimed that the oath was 'falsified' by the

Athenians; whether he meant 'doctored' or 'invented whole cloth' is not completely clear (see Connor 1968: 78–89). Moreover, it would have suited the Plataeans, when besieged by Sparta during the Peloponnesian War, to have cited this oath had they known of it, since the inscribed version carries a specific provision not to destroy Plataea (this argument would have been useful at Thuc. 2.71.2–4; 3.58.4–5; 3.59.2). And the oath does indeed fit into a context of 4th c. Athenian propaganda: see Habicht 1961 for the phenomenon of forged documents and Thomas 1989: 83–93 for the mentality behind it.

The clause about not rebuilding the sanctuaries that the barbarians had destroyed (which is absent on the inscribed version), presents a very complex set of issues. Since the temples on the Athenian Acropolis were not rebuilt until the second half of the fifth century, the oath has been used as an explanation for the long period of delay (e.g., by Meiggs 1972: 504–7). Some modern scholars believe that the Peace of Callias, which allegedly was concluded between Athens and Persia in 449 BC (see Cawkwell 1997), would have rendered the sanctuary clause null and void, and thus the Athenians began to build new temples on the Acropolis. Yet this scenario, which so neatly explains why the Athenians waited some thirty years to rebuild their sanctuaries (the Oath forbade it; the Peace permitted it), depends on two documents of doubtful authenticity; for the Peace of Callias is itself only known from fourth-century literary sources, and it too was called 'falsified' by Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 F 153). Moreover, Ferrari (2002) argues that the archaic temple of Athena Polias on the Athenian Acropolis was neither rebuilt nor replaced, but was left standing as a war memorial. It is possible that the sanctuary clause was invented in connection with the Athenian decision (made perhaps in the 450s) to monumentalise the remnants of the Persian destruction.

In sum, although conclusive arguments either for or against the authenticity of the Oath of Plataea (or any of its clauses) are lacking, the balance of evidence nevertheless favours the view that the oath in its entirety was invented long after the battle of Plataea had been fought.

APPENDIX D: BATTLE LINES OF THE GREEK AND PERSIAN ARMIES AT PLATAEA

For discussion and bibliography, see the notes to 28.2–32.2. H.'s numbers for the various Greek contingents are likely to be accurate: the figures given below are for hoplites only, totalling 38,700; these were supported by 69,500 light-armed troops. But his claim that Mardonius' Asiatic troops numbered 300,000 is a manifest exaggeration (32.2n.), and his estimate of about 50,000 for Mardonius' Greek allies is also too high.

Position	Greek community	Troops	Opponent
Right wing	Lacedaemon	10,000	Persians
	Tegea	1,500	Persians
Right centre	Corinth	5,000	Medes
	Potidaea	300	Medes
	Orchomenus	600	Medes
	Sicyon	3,000	Medes
	Epidaurus	800	Bactrians
	Troezen	1,000	Bactrians
	Lepreum	200	Bactrians
	Mycenae, Tiryns	400	Bactrians
Left centre	Phlius	1,000	Bactrians
	Hermione	300	Indians
	Eretria, Styra	600	Indians
	Chalcis	400	Indians
	Ambracia	500	Sacae
	Leucas, Anactorium	800	Sacae
	Pale	200	Sacae
	Aegina	500	Sacae
	Megara	3,000	as Plataea below
Left wing	Plataea	600	Boeotians, Locrians, Malians, Thessalians, Phocians
	Athens	8,000	as Plataea, with addition of Macedonians and neighbours of Thessalians

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INDEXES

1. GREEK WORDS

2. GENERAL

Book IX of Herodotus' *Histories* provides the conclusion and climax to his work, as the victories at Plataea and Mycale complete the improbable Greek victory over Persia. The major themes of the work are all here echoed, modified and revisited, and Book IX is thus essential for exploring the meaning (or range of possible meanings) of the *Histories* as a whole. This commentary, the first in English devoted solely to Book IX in over a century, treats Herodotus' work as both an historical narrative and a work of literature, incorporating the results of recent scholarly work in the fields of Greek history and historiography. It contains a Greek text together with detailed philological, literary and historical notes designed to assist the intermediate and advanced Greek student. The book will also be of use to graduate students and scholars.

An appendix contains a translation and text, with brief commentary, of the fragments of Simonides of Chios' poem on the Battle of Plataea.

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